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RUSSIAN AND NORWEGIAN
APPROACHES TO
TERRITORIALIZATION OF
GEOPOLITICAL SPACE IN THE ARCTIC

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International Politics
Master's Thesis
October 2009

Abstract

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ABASKALOVA, OLGA: Russian and Norwegian approaches to territorialization of geopolitical space in Arctic.

Master's Thesis, 74 pages, 29 appendices

International Relations

September 2009

The master's thesis is about Russian and Norwegian approaches to territorialization of geopolitical space in the Arctic. The methodology used in the thesis describes borders and territorialization as concepts in international relations as a discipline. The theory of the border research is called limnology. Limnologists emphasize the fact that there are different types of boundaries: land frontier, river, lake, maritime and air boundaries. Borders are dividing lines and social constructions. The framework for studying maps is based on a cartographical method and analysis of maps that illustrates limitations and demarcations of borders, objects and transport routes in the Arctic.

The master's thesis shows that there is a difference in the analysed Russian and Norwegian maps. They are looking at the same world in a different way. A small country is focusing on the biggest neighbor, but the larger country does not pay so much attention to the smaller one. The issue of the location of the island Svalbard is another indication of the different geopolitical positions, and a source of historical disputes. Norwegian and Russian maps use different projections to map the island. This results from the fact that even if the island is Norwegian territory, Russia has the right to use the area for industrial purposes because of the Treaty of Spitsbergen.

The thesis concludes that the maps indicate that there are political dynamics going on in the Arctic which make the region at the agenda for many years to come. Enormous oil and gas resources, the central geopolitical position, the rich fisheries, the potential for new transport routes and environmental issues will be more and more interesting in the future, from ice melting to effects of pollution.

We can learn that boundaries are a challenging theme and different approaches must be used to give academic answers at controversial international relations. A huge set of techniques and methods are required. However, Russia and Norway in the development

of the Arctic is a very broad subject. This master's thesis has only touched a few aspects of the countries' policy in the Arctic. A lot of research are needed to be done in order to further improve our understanding.

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Introduction

This thesis analyses Russian and Norwegian approaches to territorialization of geopolitical space in the Arctic. The significance of the theme of research is determined by the increased importance of the Arctic region. The theme of Arctic regions and territorial differentiation of its geopolitical space is very important and has exclusive value at present in connection with appearance of various territorial pretensions of the subarctic states in Arctic regions.

Striking oil, gas, and solid commercial mineral exploration in Arctic regions are only some of the main reasons of it.

Arctic region is a region that has a huge reserve of natural resources. Therefore, in spite of a distant geographical position, this region attracts the increased attention of international community. It also is connected with economic aspects and strategic location.

The basic reserves of some major minerals, which are determinant for development of economy of Russia and Norway, are concentrated in this region. Needs of a national economy and an exhaustion of reserves of natural resources without bias predetermine increase of mining operations in the Arctic region.

As argued by Economic Department of Murmansk region, “the explored reserves of gas of industrial categories there constitute 80 percent of all-Russian reserves. 90 percent of recoverable resources of hydrocarbons of all continental shelf of the Russian Federation are concentrated in Arctic regions, including 70 percent that are located on shelf of Barents and Kara seas. Existence of hydrocarbons and in a deep-water part of Arctic ocean in terms of numbers of 15-20 billion tons of standard coal is predicted.”¹.

The mining operations of natural gas, apatite concentrate, many strategically important nonferrous and precious metals (nickel, copper, cobalt and others) are concentrated in Arctic region.

The Arctic region provides for about 11 percent of the national income of Russia and makes up 22 percent of volume of the all-Russian export although the proportion of its population is one percent.²

The Arctic continental shelf can contain about a quarter of all reserves of hydrocarbons in the world. According to the point of view of Russian president Dmitry Medvedev, the Arctic zone should become a resource base of Russia in the XXI century.

¹ Murmansk region.-URL: http://region.murman.ru/economy/tek/oil_gaz/index.shtml (13.03.2009)

² Ibid.

“This is a solution to long-term problems of the country and its competitiveness in the global markets”, considers the president”³.

Furthermore, the Norwegian Minister of Petroleum and Energy, Mr. Odd Roger Enoksen, has emphasized the fact that if we are to believe to the estimations of Geological service of the USA, 25 percent of the world’s discovered oil and gas reserve are located in Arctic regions. It becomes an important element in resolving the mounting world energy needs.⁴ These quotations illustrates the importance assigned to the Arctic by Russian and Norwegian political actors alike.

Additionally, the Arctic region is an area of formation of global atmospheric processes and the peculiar filter against pollution of air, therefore this region plays very important role in preservation of ecological balance on our planet. Therefore, the questions of ecological safety of Arctic regions take on special significance in connection with raised vulnerability of environment and intensification a natural resources exploration.

Biological resources of Arctic regions are a basis of life of the aboriginal population of the North, their unique economic way of life and culture. Some territories of Arctic regions possess unique possibilities for scientific researches and tourism.

The Arctic sea region becomes a source of an international tension because of a competition for access to energy resources. These disputes also can become aggravated and because of global warming of a climate in Arctic regions. That can lead to access to new transport routes in the future.

Both Russia and Norway have special interests in Arctic regions. This fact, and the specificity of this region, lead to separation of Arctic regions as independent objects in state policy. This thesis analyses Russian and Norwegian approaches to the territorialization of geopolitical space in the Arctic.

The pertinence of the topic is highlighted by the fact that in order to prevent various disputes and conflicts for Arctic regions all subarctic states should define and delimit exact borders of possession in Arctic regions. However, in practice we face that there are various approaches to territorialization of geopolitical space in Arctic regions.

For example, Canada urges to divide territories into sectors according borders of states. There is another variant of the European Union that was offered by Denmark - to

³ Promvest. - URL: <http://www.promvest.info/354/5331/> (07.05.2009)

⁴ Barents observer. Energy resources of Arctic play a key role.2007-01-24.
URL -<http://www.barentsobserver.com/cppage.424602-16149.html> (07.03.2009)

divide the territory according to definite line, on equal distances from the coast.⁵ There is a variant of the USA - to leave in the centre a zone that is will be free for all.⁶ However, any of these variants is not accepted yet. The agreement according to which each country has 200 miles of a sea economic zone round the coast is completed, but there are many unresolved questions. Thus, there are already some variants of division of space in Arctic regions.

Thus, representatives of various groups have not only different approaches to territorialization of spaces in Arctic regions, but also different perceptions about territorialization of geopolitical space in this region, which exist in their consciousness. The thesis analyses these perceptions with the help of the following **research design**:

The literature analysis. During the writing of a theoretical part of this master's thesis, I often used the well-known book of Norwegian social anthropologist Frederik Barth *Ethnic groups and boundaries. The Social organization of Culture Difference*. This book is one of the most well-known works in social sciences in the second half of the 20th century. This work has grounded the study of the phenomenon of ethnicity and has displaced a focus of the anthropological analysis from history, the internal organization of social groups on social borders between ethnos and the mechanisms, which these borders support. Frederik Barth considers border as an emergent concept which exists in consciousness of people, in their heads. Barth, in his researches, paid a lot attention to borders and considered these as main criterions of an ethnic group. According to Barth we can define ethnicity only based on research of those borders with which the ethnic group outlines itself. Thus, it is necessary to abstract from the cultural substance which lies within limits of these borders. During the writing of this master's thesis, the following monographs were also used: *Russia - Norway. Physical and Symbolic Borders* (esp. two articles «Norwegian - Russian Borderland in Transition represented: Spatial Perception among Norwegian Elites in 1826-1852" by Mari Ishizuka, and "The Maritime Boundary Dispute between Russia and Norway: Territorial and Cognitive Boundaries" by Ingrid Kvalvik), *Romanov Empire and nationalism* by A. Miller, the collection of articles *International relations in the North of Europe and the Barents Region: History and Historiography* and *The Soviet-Norwegian relations 1927-1955*, etc. All these works were very important for my research.

⁵ URL: www.Sbrf.ru/common/img/uploaded/sbjr/09-02/064-69.PDF

⁶ URL: www.pomorsu.ru/doc/mba/arctic.pdf

Thus, books of Russian cartographers Salishev K. and Berlyant A. describe various analysis techniques and methods of research maps. Therefore, these books were important during writing the second chapter: Maps as study methods. However, these books were used not only as a methodological basis, but also during analysis of Russian and Norwegian maps in the third chapter. Books of Barth F., Medvedev S. and Anderson B. are the main source of information about borders. In the theoretical part of my research, I used mainly the works of Wendt A. and Huntington S. However, this research is different from all these works, because these authors didn't research ideas and perceptions of Russian and Norwegian people about boundaries in the Arctic by using maps.

Therefore the **purpose** of this master's thesis is to find out whether Russians and Norwegians have similar or different perceptions of territorialization of the Arctic region.

For this purpose, it is necessary to solve the **following problems**:

- To define territorialization in particular and border in general;
- To analyse of maps as an instrument in a study of perceptions;
- To compare Russian and Norwegian territorialization of the Arctic regions as reflected in Russian and Norwegian maps.

In order to solve these problems I used methodology, which is in detail described in Chapter Two and which is the description by maps suggested by well-known Russian political geographer K. Salishchev.

The theme of Arctic regions is very popular at present. Many articles in periodicals press are devoted to this theme. There are not so many monographs on this theme. However, nobody has developed the theme from the point of view of comparing Russian and Norwegian perceptions about territorialization of geopolitical space in Arctic regions, which exist in heads of people. Scientific newness of this research thus consists in it.

Source base (i.e. primary research materials) of the thesis are the following documents:

- geographical and political maps, maps of the Arctic regions in Russian and Norwegian atlases, for example, in *Gyðendals Store Verdens Atlas*, in the atlas *Gyðendals Familieatlas*, *Verden Atlas I tekst og bilder*, *Russian Atlas of The World*.
- the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
- "The fundamentals of state policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic in the period up to 2020 and beyond" (*Osnovy gosudarstvennoi politiki Rossiiskoi Federatsii v Arktike na*

period do 2020 goda i dalneishuiu perspektivu, published on the Russian Security Council's website in the end of March 2009),

- the Ruling of Presidium of the Central Electoral Committee and SNK USSR 1926 "About the announcement territory of the USSR of the earths and the islands located in Arctic ocean"

- Spitsbergen Treaty 1920

By way of analyzing these documents, the thesis analyses Russian and Norwegian perceptions about territorialization of geopolitical space in Arctic regions. The object of research is territorialization of geopolitical space in Arctic regions.

Chapter One: Borders and Territorialization as Concepts in International Relations as a Discipline

The subject of the borders is very actual in IR discourse because without borders there would be no division between people, so there would be no international relations.

In this research borders will be examined from a constructivist and postmodernist perspective. According to constructivism, the border is an imagined line, which exists in a head of people. In order to understand it we should consider at first more detailed - what is a border and what kinds of practices are involved in the process of frontier delineation?

1.1 Definitions and practices of borders and frontiers

There are many definitions of what is called a border. For example, according to the Law on frontier of the Russian Federation from 1 April, 1993 № 4730-1, part 1 “The Frontier of the Russian Federation is a line and the vertical surface passing on this line, defining limits of the state territory (a land, waters, bowels and air space) the Russian Federation, it is a spatial limit of the state’s sovereignty of the Russian Federation”.⁷

The theory of the border research is called limology. It is one of the directions of political geography. D.A Bolotov and N. M. Mezhevich are the most well-known limologists in Russia. They also underline significance of boundaries in there books. Mezhevich, for example, considers boundary as a “deciding factor of identity formation”.⁸ Bolotov pays a lot attention in his books to cooperation in boundary regions.⁹ Limnologists emphasise the fact that there are different types of boundaries: land frontier, river, lake, maritime and air boundary.

Land frontier is a line which separates territory of one state from another. Such lines are defined by these adjacent states, as a rule, in a contractual order and according to the concluded agreements are established on district.

The maritime boundary represents a special interest to this research. It is established by the internal act of the state with observance of the international norms, or under the agreement with the frontier state. The width of territorial waters fluctuates from 3 to 12 marine miles.

⁷ Zakon o granice Rossiyskoy Federacii (The Law on the frontier of the Russian Federation), 1 April 1993, № 4730-1, stat'ya 1

⁸ Mezhevich N. M. “‘Identichnost’: teoreticheskie aspekty i prostranstvennoe soderzhanie v usloviyakh pogranichnix megetnicheskikh razlomov, na primere regiona Ivangorod-Narva”. Identichnostæ i geographiya v postsovetskiy period, Sbornik statey, Gelikon Plyus, SPb, 2003

⁹ Bolotov D. A. Prigranichnoe sotrudnichestvo v regione Severnogo Izmmereiya (Boundary cooperation in the region of Northern Dimension), SPb, 2007

From a constructivist perspective, it is also worth emphasizing that the emergence of the concept “frontier” is historically connected with appearance of institute of the state. Borders defined the territory, which the sovereign protected and expanded. This territory was taxed by the sovereign. After the completion of the state’s formation there was demarcation of territories which borders were protected with the use of power. Unlike the modern world which is in the frameworks of international law, borders were not accurate and defined. They were often reconsidered following the results of military actions. The collection of tax and payments for transit on state/princedom territory made a significant contribution to institutionalization of borders during a period of feudal society.¹⁰

There are two stages in the process of frontier delineations: delimitation and demarcation:

1. Delimitation (from an armour. *delimitatio*) refers to the establishment of borders, includes drawing up a detailed description the border’s location (e.g. what rivers it passes through, what is its distance from specific settlements, what is its direction, etc.) and the actual drawing of a line on map. The parties to delimitation accord main principles of definition and the frontier description: consideration of mutual interests, respect to territorial integrity, mutual understanding and mutual compliance, compliance with the international norms and also historical, legal and geographical documents. After the end of negotiations, the Agreement (Contract) on border location between the states with the supplement (maps) is signed. As a rule, these agreements are not limited in time. At this stage process of legalization of frontier is finished and the parties can start the process of demarcation.

2. Demarcation is the actual identification and marking of the frontier line on ground with the help of frontier marks, and on water – with the help of floats, buoys. Demarcation is carried out by the mixed commission consisting of representatives of the border states. As a result the parties sign a protocol with the detailed description of border’s location, with maps and reports on each established sign. These documents are also the supplements to the boundary treaty.

Redemarcation is a process of joint verification, if it is necessary to replace destroyed frontier marks or installations of the new ones.¹¹

¹⁰ URL: <http://www.strana-oz.ru/?numid=7&article=307>

¹¹ URL: http://magazines.russ.ru/oz/2002/6/2002_06_25.html

1.2 A brief historical overview

It can appear at first sight that in the modern discourse on borders in the international relations the neo-liberal approach, which is characterized by interdependence, interaction and globalization, prevails. However, this is not accurate because neo-liberal and multi-centrist analyses often interact with the postmodernist discourse. By contrast, within the framework of realist approach, the state-centrist approach is usually emphasized. In the following, I will reiterate the main points of this approach from a historical perspective.

The realist state-centrist approach is closely connected with such concepts, as sovereignty, the principle of territoriality, the nation and nationalism.

The idea of sovereignty becomes a major principle of political system in the Modern Age.

Working out of this concept is connected with Jean Bodin's name (1530-1596). Here, sovereignty is the absolute and constant power of the state.¹²

According to Francis Hinsley, the idea of the sovereignty assumes, that in a political community there exists final (there is an instance that decision is definitive) and absolute (indivisible) political power, and nowhere there exists more power than that.¹³

There are two aspects of sovereignty which are the absolute power inside and a non-interference principle from the outside.

The sovereignty principle presumes a particular area but at the same time sovereignty cannot be defined only territorially as sovereignty is a political body. There were two points that grounded territorial organization of the state in the Modern age:

- The wide-scale taxation system fill collar works well in interrelation with territory.
- As a result of Religious wars it became easier to divide principdom by a territorial principle.

The principle of territoriality has been materialized in the Westphalian system.¹⁴ The main principle of contracts is who roles have the power. That's why everyone sovereign on own territory can choose dominating religion. The rights of Christians of other confessions should be protected (i. e. a freedom of religion for Christians). However,

¹² URL: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/bodin/>

¹³ Busygina I. M. Evropejskij Soyuz: novie izmereniya koncepcii suvereniteta.
URL: www.mgimo.ru/uploads/files/Busygina%20Sovereignty.doc

¹⁴ An introduction to the social sciences: understanding social change. A globalizing world? culture, economics, politics, Edited by Held D. London, 2000.

the Westphalian system did not assume, that any state can be sovereign. In the middle of the 20th century this system is transformed when the sovereignty principle becomes global.

Following the results of the Thirty Years War a system of the modern states was formed in the sense of their existence and the establishment of the legal order in particular territory which excludes anarchy (Hobbes's natural state). The positive law dominates in the state. The created, established, natural right is excluded.

The major feature of sovereignty is a consistency which is possible on the basis of an order, and the order is possible at a right of consistency. This means that without dependence from one's position in a society, all should have the identical rights. The same applies to foreign policy: the state functions among equal states.

This discussion is pertinent to the present research due to the fact that without the division into internal and external it is impossible to present concept of the sovereignty. Anarchy has not disappeared absolutely. It has merely been superseded from internal policy to the sphere of the external.

In the theory of the public contract, sovereignty is an abstract construction. Refusal of a natural state is a transfer of the natural rights to the sovereign. Primarily the monarch was an embodiment of the sovereign power but still it was based on religion. Gradually, there is a transformation of this concept and have appeared an idea of national sovereignty appears.

In the course of time, the idea of the monarch sovereign is replaced by the idea of the nation-sovereign. Since the 1970s, however, many scholars and scientists have mentioned that states are not as significant as before. The role of non-governmental actors – transnational corporations, non-governmental organizations- has increased. The fact that the concept of sovereignty does not play an important role at the moment is illustrated by the fact that in IR discourse, there has appeared the concept of a “failed state”¹⁵.

The problem of sovereignty is thus becoming connected with the growth of globalization and interaction processes. This problem is very important in international law. Sovereignty is an integral political-juridical characteristic of the state that predetermines principles of respect of a state's sovereignty, sovereign equality, territorial integrity and inviolability, political independency, non-intervention of other states.

The connection of these elaborations to the topic of this thesis is that the idea of the nation and the sovereignty has traditionally been seen to be impossible without banding/attachment to territory. The nation is thought of as an invisible organism and the

¹⁵ Dolek C., The Myth of “Failed State” in Africa: A Question on Atomistic Social Ontology?, *Journal of Turkish Weekly*, April 29, 2008

state as a system of the institutions realising national will. Furthermore, the nation is an “imagined community” which is represented as inevitably limited and sovereign. This has been elaborated well by Benedict Anderson in the book *Imagined communities*.¹⁶

In sum, national statehood is an attribute of the political system of the Modern Age which was constructed through specific historical practices discussed above. The order is based on the idea about community of interests. Without it is impossible to imagine a present modern system.

1.3 Characteristics of boundary region

In the previous section I traced the historical constitution of the modern understanding of statehood and sovereignty. In this section, I turn to discuss how borders emerge in specific historical practices. As argued by Rosenau, borders emerge as a combination of two dynamics: “They are essentially “between”: not only between national-state, but also between discourses and definitions, between neo-realism and neo-liberalism, between state - centrism and multi-centrism.”¹⁷

Thus, idea of border has constantly changed for a long time and has been closely connected with such concepts, as the nation, statehood and the sovereignty. In modern system of the international relations the situation has materially changed.

This is well illustrated by Sergei Medvedev who argues that “in many regions of the world, first of all in the West, and its peripheries and neighborhoods, borders have become eroded and devalued; in particular, the EU-Russian border is not a boundary in the classical Westphalian sense since it delimits (or rather represents) both national and supranational jurisdictions.”¹⁸

However borders do not disappear today, they simply change, for example, borders are transformed to boundary regions.

The boundary region is very similar to the national state today. It has many common traits with it (for example, there are cities and provinces within both of them). They take part in the process of negotiations, cooperation, compromise and competition between states. Boundary regions are dependent on the varying policies of the state, as observed by Samuel Huntington, “many forms of transborder cooperation still function

¹⁶ Anderson B. *Imagined Communities* (New ed.). London, New York: Verso, 2006

¹⁷ Rosenau J. *Turbulence in World Politics*, 1990, Princeton University Press. Princeton, p. 77.

¹⁸ Medvedev S. *Across the Line. Borders in Post-Westphalian Landscapes*, p. 53-54.

only with the approval of the government claiming sovereignty over the territory in question.”¹⁹

Border is thus a place in which interests of the various parties and actors are crossed. Before the border was perceived mainly as statehood’s embodiment, now borders are beyond the limits of the national state, but continue to discharge both the former functions, and new ones. In the words of Medvedev “the EU-Russian border, too, emerges as a specific form of reterritorialization, shaping a new spatial identity and territorial polity that utilises and freely combines functional components of various administrative levels, nation-state and practices.”²⁰

The analysis of borders thus needs a multi-level approach. It is possible to mark out four levels in it:

1. the local level (local communities, cross-border urban networks, twin-cities, etc.)
2. the regional level (the Baltic Sea area and the Council of Baltic Sea States, Barents Euro-Arctic Region, the possible creation of cross-border Euroregions at the EU’s eastern frontiers, etc.)
3. the national level (for example, Finland and Russia, Russia and Norway, etc.)
4. the supranational level (the EU, Council of Europe, possibly the WEU and NATO)

Borders always discharged a protective function, but this has to do more with ceremony and the routine of statehood, rather than actual power and control over transboundary development. “But today it is not only demarcation line. If taken in the wider international context, the complexity of interests and the multitude of administrative levels involved make this line, not erased altogether, at least blurred and uncertain, turn it into a moving and zonal frontier.”²¹

The border can also be considered an independent actor in the contemporary system of international relations today, developing own interests, the border have an impact on the other interaction systems in the present-day world. It not simply dividing line on a map or on the territory, the border follows to the dynamics of processes of globalization and regionalization.

¹⁹ Huntington S. Transnational Organization in World Politics, World Politics, 1973, Vol. 25, №. 3, p. 15.

²⁰ Medvedev S., op. cit., p. 54.

²¹ Ibid, p. 55.

1.4 Postmodernist and constructivist approaches to borders

In this thesis, I apply both constructivist and postmodernist theories to the study of Russian and Norwegian approaches to the territorialization of geopolitical space in the Arctic. The basis for all scientific work is the “use of theories, models, perspectives and paradigms. One theory explains a relatively systematic set of ideas about the relationship between different phenomena”²². In this research I will thus consider the concept of border within the limits of the postmodernist and constructivist theories.

”Models, theories and perspectives give an idealized picture of reality. Modeling involves the selection of variables”²³, which highlights some elements clearly, and exclude others. This is both a theory’s strength and weakness. The strength of modeling is a strong focus of the elements that one wishes to emphasize. The weakness is that by using only one or few theories, models and perspectives you will only explain some aspects of reality. Only by using one theory it is hard to capture the different observations. Therefore, it is beneficial to use several theories and perspectives in academic work. The theories/frameworks of understanding will impact on the issues discussed, and in addition they are to decide what data is relevant and affect the conclusions. They are prejudices in the sense discussed by Gadamer.²⁴ To explain what this means, Kuhn’s paradigm concept can also be used: “The shared understanding and, as important, the shared exemplars that emerge in scientific disciplines go guide research and instructions in the discipline. A paradigm is a way of doing things, a way of looking at the world.”²⁵ Given this, it makes sense to try to combine insights from two related IR paradigms – postmodernism and constructivism.

Postmodernism resists the classical approaches of science. In a restricted sense postmodernism is a philosophical school associated with the names of Derrida, Foucault and Barthes, but it is possible to consider each of these authors as the founder of his own approach. Postmodernism interprets (construes) the world as a text. We understand outward things through other texts that are connected with them (the written or ”oral” information). The social reality is based on texts. For example, any culture is interpreted as aggregate of texts.²⁶

²² Roness P. G. Organisasjonsendringar. Teoriar og strategiar for studier av endringsprosessar(Organizational Changes. Theories and Strategies for Study Change),Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.1987, p. 12.

²³ Egeberg M. Institusjonspolitikk og forvaltningsutvikling (Institutional politics and administration development. Contributions to an applied political science), Oslo: Tano, 1989

²⁴ Gadamer, H. G.Truth and Method, London: Sheed and Ward, 1993

²⁵ Kuhn. Reproduced in Pfeffer,1982

²⁶URL: <http://www.chem.msu.su/rus/teaching/sociology/2.html>

There are some commonalities between postmodernism and **constructivism**. The main representatives of constructivism in IR are Alexander Wendt and Nicholas Onuf. These authors developed idea that the reality is a social construction. Despite some commonalities, Wendt is not a postmodernist as he works on the basis of critical realist ontology.²⁷

According to the main representatives of constructivism, the basic structures of the World Politics are social structures, not material structures. They deal with identity and interests of actors. Actors operate toward to each other based on that they mean for each other.²⁸

It is interesting to combine these ideas with those put forth by some representatives of postmodernism who believe that the western political thought is based on the ideals of the Age of Enlightenment which is in a deep crisis. Similarly, this thesis works on the basis of the idea that the contemporary understanding of borders is in crisis as illustrated by the discussion on borders in the Arctic.

Postmodernists disclaim understanding of history as the optimal directed way of development. Reality, according to a postmodernist, is also a social construction, “a product of a human alternative choice.”²⁹ Postmodernism significantly contributed to development of applied researches in the frameworks of the theory of the international relations and provides a fruitful framework for the present research. This is due to the fact that the reduction of the role of the sovereign territorially defined state, federalism, regionalism, nationalism, new types of citizenship, consciousness problem, identity - these questions are at the centre of attention of representatives of a postmodernism perspective.³⁰

Among IR constructivist, Wendt emphasizes the social character of the international relations. He considers processes of interaction of the actors, creating a social reality. According to Wendt, the structure of the international relations exists primarily on the basis of social interactions: “The most important move is to reconceptualize what international structure is made of. ... And since the basis of sociality is shared knowledge, this leads to an idealist view of structure as a “distribution of knowledge” or “ideas all the

²⁷ Udaev E. V., Chudinov A. P. Metodologicheskie grani politicheskoy metforologii.
URL: <http://www.philology.ru/linguistics1/budaev-chudinov-07.htm>

²⁸ Makrychev M. G. Diskurs kak predmet izucheniya v sfere mezhdunarodoj politiki .
URL: [http://www.unn.ru/pages/issues/vestnik/99990201_West_soc_2006_1\(5\)/68.pdf](http://www.unn.ru/pages/issues/vestnik/99990201_West_soc_2006_1(5)/68.pdf)

²⁹ Vasquez, J. The Post-Positivist Debate: Reconstructing Scientific Enquiry and International Relations Theory after Enlightenment's Fall /J. Vasquez// International Relations Theory Today. – Ed. By K. Booth and S. Smith. – University Park, Penn.: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995, p. 221.

³⁰ Makrychev M. G., op. cit.

way down.”³¹ Thus, the importance of material factors decreases for the representatives of constructivism. For adherents of constructivism social aspects of mutual interactions are the most important.

The understanding of structure as a social structure of the international relations assumes that the important role belongs to ideas. Actors in the course of interaction take each other into consideration. “This process is based on actors’ ideas about the nature and roles of Self and Other.”³²

Social structures are “distribution of ideas” for adherents of constructivism. All actors share some of these ideas, some of there ideas are private. The common ideas constitute a culture of social structure. Wendt, for example, emphasizes that roles are attributes of structure of system, not of its elements. They are established jointly and objectively and they are positions according to which certain expectations in the relation to each other are formed³³

The constructivists’ understanding of international relations as the social relations assumes that the structure influences on interests and identity of actors. Thus, interests and identity are dependent variables, which are endogenous toward to processes of interactions and are defined by them. Identity and interests can change. Moreover, “agents themselves are on-going effects of interaction.”³⁴

Thus, postmodernism in general and constructivism in particular are rather new directions in international relations. These directions have huge potential as illustrated by the present research.

Assumption that a reality is a social construction is the most important for this research. According to it, we can have different ideas about the same things, for example about borders. Thus according to postmodernism, borders are imagined, differentiating lines. The borders are embodiment of a specific historical heritage, identity, a nationality, territorialization. Imagination mostly influences on all this things.

Not only individuals but representatives of various groups and nationalities can have their own ideas about borders and about the way in which it is possible to divide territories. These ideas may not coincide with each other, which sometimes leads to conflicts and collisions. The phenomena of the material world give in to transformation more than social categories, which are located in us. It may even be much more difficult to change the social world (aprioristic cultural representations) than the material world.

³¹ Wendt A. Social Theory of International Politics, p. 20.

³² Wendt A., op. cit., p. 249.

³³ Safrnova O. V. K voprosu o geneologii konstruktivizma v teorii mezhdunarodnix otnoshenij. URL: [http://www.unn.ru/pages/issues/vestnik/99990200_West_MO_2004_1\(2\)/10.pdf](http://www.unn.ru/pages/issues/vestnik/99990200_West_MO_2004_1(2)/10.pdf)

³⁴ Wendt A., op. cit., p. 314.

In a sense, the border is a product of our imagination, imagination of territory. As Medvedev argues,

if in the all-too-popular definition of Benedict Anderson (1991), nation is an 'imagined community' why should borders not be 'imaginary lines'? Borders fall prey to the imagination of territory; at a certain point they become so symbolic, significant and encoded, so semiotically intensive, that they cease to exist in reality, become mere facts of discourse, figures of speech, simulations.³⁵

On the one hand, however, border is natural divider (the rivers, mountains, valleys, for example). On the other hand, borders are not only geographical, but also social and juridical-political constructions which are historically caused. As argued by Giddens, "as far as Europe is concerned, the idea of a border, and the mass production of borders, started only with modernity, together with the marking of nation-states."³⁶

In addition, according to Sergei Medvedev "the very idea of "Europe" as a free association of discursively and territorially defined units developed in parallel with the emergence of borders."³⁷ During the Middle Ages, the word "Europe" was used on rare occasions: either as a special geographical term, or as a poetic figure, or even an esoteric word one could flaunt to show his erudition. It almost never meant a cultural and political community, which was described in such terms as "Christianitas "or" Respublica Christiana." Thus such notions as "Europe", borders, civil identities, nation-state started to develop at about the same time from the syncretism of Christianitas.

Medvedev highlights the historical construction and thus the unnaturalness of the modern understanding of borders. He suggests that the production of modern borders can be traced back to a major cleavage in Western Christianity which was one of its first encounters with modernity, the Reformation. During this period of time state borders were shaped by the emergence of two bodies of divided Christianity: *corpus catholicorum* and *corpus evangelicorum*. "Religious wars of the Reformation and Counterreformation in the 16th-17th centuries provide the futility of any attempts to impose the rule of one confession in Europe."³⁸ As a consequence of religious wars a new political principle was established:

³⁵ Medvedev S., op. cit., p. 44.

³⁶ Giddens, A. *The Nation-State and Violence: Volume Two of a Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987, p. 50.

³⁷ Medvedev S., op. cit., p. 46.

³⁸ Ibid.

the right of each state to self-determination and a free choice of confession within the legally-delineated frontiers of a state.

The next stage of the development of conception of borders was the Thirty Years' War and Westphalian system that finally legitimised borders as a backbone of the European political system. The Westphalian system turned out to be a lasting one. Although European borders were redrawn many times, the principle of a border as the ultimate marker of a national sovereignty remained. "Any change to borders, even violent one, had to be legally justified. Indeed, title for territory became one of the larger preoccupations of international law and diplomacy."³⁹

Sergei Medvedev defines boundaries as "containers and constituents of statehood"⁴⁰ because the border is an element that forms the state. Maps also play the important role. "Borders as containers of statehood, nationhood, citizenship, and citizenry proper are therefore a centerpiece of the modernist vision of territoriality." Medvedev's postmodernist vibe comes evident from the fact that he argues that "one can see a certain 'Westphalian link', in which nation-states, nationalisms and identities, maps and borders are closely intertwined" and argues that "the 'Westphalian link' turned out to be a trap: borders, as we know them, make sense, and have a validity, only within the system of nation-states."⁴¹

New actors appeared with a decrease of the significance of state's role on a political arena: at subnational level (regional, sectoral, elitist, local, etc.), supranational level (strategic business alliances, non - inter - and supragovernmental units). These actors are closely interconnected not only politically, economically, but also ecological, religious, national and normative-ethical.

This has also been recognized by a number of analysts. As Tuomas Forsberg has argued,

challenges to the Westphalian nation-state question our concepts of territoriality. While in the earlier period, ideas of territoriality, including borders, were under a total spell of statehood, today we are facing the comeback of

³⁹ Medvedev S., op. cit., p. 47.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 48.

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 49.

territoriality proper, without overtones of nationalism or any other essentialism.⁴²

Therefore, many researchers and scientists have drawn a conclusion, that borders do not require exact fixation and should not be static, they can change and be broken. Contemporary IR discourses on borders have another vision of boundaries according to the dynamic and multi-centric approaches. This is also reflected by present discussions on the location of borders in the Arctic.

Before borders were perceived as tools of a policy that depended on the internal organisation of a society. The modern understanding of a border has been fundamentally challenged.

If the border is an imagined line, modern borders are unable to provide full protection against penetration of undesirable elements according to some scientists. For example, M. Anderson asserts in his work that the contemporary state is badly equipped to control border flows: "Even if it wants to protect itself from intrusions like pollution or information warfare, borders and sovereign control of territory provide only limited defences against their impact."⁴³ Therefore, in a modern society borders often are used in order to, for example, cut down expenses and costs of population. Sergey Medvedev for an explanation of this phenomenon even establish a new term "ecology of borders"⁴⁴, and as an example for an explanation of this phenomenon he gives an interesting example with the Finnish-Russian border when population of Karelia go to Saint-Petersburg through Helsinki. It takes them twice less time, than travel on Russian roads.

The idea of ecology of borders extends in time and space:

1. First, border is some kind of process. Many modern borders are in a change and development station.
2. Secondly, border is as a region. However unlike boundary region, borders are closer connected with the state, and the boundary region can have own interests which often quite differ from interests of the most national states.⁴⁵

The postmodern discourse on borders considerably changes our view on border as a static and unchangeable line. The idea of functions of borders has changed also. It is not

⁴² Forsberg, T. *Beyond Sovereignty, Within Territoriality: Mapping the Space of Late-Modern(Geo)Politics, Cooperation and conflict*, Vol. 31, № 4, p. 363.

⁴³ Anderson M. *The Political Science of Frontiers*, in P. Ganster et al. (eds.), *Borders and Border Regions in Europe and North America*, 1997, University of San Diego Press, San Diego, p. 27-45.

⁴⁴ Medvedev S., op. cit., p. 51.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 50-51.

only a demarcation line on the map. As Berdoulay observed “a place is an area - but more important, it is a network i.e. a space of interaction between what is global, national and local”.⁴⁶

Postmodernism has paid attention to the fact that maps are not disinterested and innocent media of passing information (e.g. projections distort the world). “The production of maps illustrates the significance of the relationship between knowledge and power and the inevitability of interpretation.”⁴⁷ Maps promote and influence specific issues of social relations. They not only passively reflect the world. “They are selective in their content, particular in their styles, and limited in their subjects.”⁴⁸

Thus, the theme of borders is thus an actual topic of postmodern society which seeks to question the modern understandings of not only borders but also related phenomena such as sovereignty. However, different events in the world policy demonstrated that the question of borders has not lost its significance, but gained high degree of significance in different spheres. From the earliest times borders traditionally have meant dividing lines. However, in modern world in the context of trans-border cooperation, formation of subnational structures (such as the European Union) the conception of border is changed and functions of borders are changed also. At the same time recognition problem of borders in international law has appeared.

Since the 1990s, the three most important approaches to border research have been:

Firstly, the analysis with the help of the history-geographical approach, world-system theory and identity. For example, Sergei Medvedev researches the Finnish-Russian border and considers a historical and geographical background of this border.⁴⁹

Secondly, the study of borders as units of analysis possessing political and analytic sameness.⁵⁰

Thirdly, research of situation in a border area within the framework of the postmodernist perspective allowing to understand the attitude of citizens to changes of borders and perception of territory of the state.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Berdoulay V, Place, Meaning, and discourse in French Language Geography, in J.A. Agnew and J. N. Duncan (eds.), *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations*, 1989, Unwin Hyman, London, p. 131.

⁴⁷ Campbell D. Poststructuralism, in Dunne T., Kurki M. & Smith S. (eds.), *International Relation Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, Oxford, 2007, p. 204.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Medvedev S., op. cit., p. 54.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Mathias A. *On Boundaries, Territory and Postmodernity: An International Relations Perspective..*

1.5 Fredrik Barth on borders/border as social construction

Constructivism is the most widespread modern approach in an explanation of nature of ethnicity in the Western world. According to constructivism, the roots of ethnicity are not “in hearts”, but “in heads” of individuals who are members of ethnic groups – “imagined communities” or “social constructions”.⁵² Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth considers this phenomenon as the form of the social organization of cultural distinctions. In the framework of such approach the special significance get non-positivistic and not naturalistic aspects of ethnic phenomena based on objective attributes of an ethnic group (for example, territory or historic facts), but their subjective aspects: group consciousness, creation of myths, sense of solidarity. Barth, however, did not exclude cultural causation of ethnic identity. Constructivist authors consider ethnicity as a situational, quite often “dictated” phenomenon.

Fredrik Barth in his researches pays a lot of attention to borders and considered it as the main criterion of ethnic group. According to Barth we can define ethnicity only by the one real way which will be based on research of those borders which the ethnic group definite itself. Moreover it is necessary to abstract from the cultural maintenance which are in limits of these borders. "Cultural characteristics which define this border, - he wrote, - “can change; cultural characteristics of members [of ethnic groups] also are subject to transformation; organizational forms of group also can change. And only the fact of a constant dichotomy between members of [group] and" external “allows us to define a [ethnic] community and to research changes of cultural forms and maintenances”.⁵³

Barth believes that ethnic border is “channel”⁵⁴ of a social life and it involves the complex organization of behavior and social relations. The assumption that members of group within certain limits “play the same game”, and it means, that “there is a certain potential of a variety of their links and relations that in a necessary case to spread it on all various fields of activity, appears from this. On the other hand, disallowance outsiders, members of other ethnic groups presume understanding of borders of assumed variability. Interactions with outsiders is limited to certain spheres where mutual understanding and the common interest” is observed.⁵⁵

Barth considers cultural borders including ethnicity which interprets as the form of the social organization of cultural differences. The characteristics, which marked an ethnic

⁵² Anderson B., op. cit., p. 6-7.

⁵³ Barth F. *Etnicheskie gruppy i social'nye granici. Social'naya organizaciya kul'turnyx razlichij.* (Ethnic groups and social boundaries), Moscow, 2006, p. 13.

⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 18.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 7.

group are the result of historical, political, economic conditions and concrete situations, and the ethnic border itself is an act of human consciousness.⁵⁶

Barth's thoughts are portent of this research as he highlights that not only are "cultural characteristics" important for demarcation of borders: factors such as political representations, the values not having the "cultural" nature, demographic make-up, "ecological safety", overcoming of a social inequality can be dividing lines. Such factors, as a state's role, use of ethnic markers by political leaders and comprehension by social groups of the interests are also significant for creation of ethnic borders.

Fredrik Barth attaches special significance to the self-attribution problem, which treats ethnicity as the conscious field of communications and the interaction, based on identification itself as differing from others. In any case, most of the modern definitions of ethnicity include also objective (cultural base) and subjective characteristic (self-attributing).⁵⁷

Barth also issues the challenge of mobility of borders of an ethnic group and specifies, that this mobility is socially caused.

Defining culture as result of relations between people, Barth considered as the main sphere of research interactionism on microlevels of societies, systems and interaction types inside and between them whereas sociological theories are occupied first of all by research of relations between social institutes at macro level.⁵⁸

Thus, according to Barth "ethnicity is a form of the social organization of cultural differences"⁵⁹. According to Barth the ethnic border defines group and those cultural characteristics which group define themselves are the important. Border just as ethnicity can change.

From the point of view of the present research, it is interesting to note that according to Barth, the characteristics marking an ethnic group are the result of historical, political, economic situation as well as of specific situations. At times historical, economic, political and social conditions play a main role. At other times particular situations, first of all - situations of peace, interested interaction of groups or, on the contrary, the conflict.

Barth's most significant idea for this research is thus that the ethnic border is the act of awareness. The major way of studying it is research of ethnic identity. Only if people

⁵⁶ http://www.gumer.info/bibliotek_Buks/History/Lyrie/49.php

⁵⁷ URL: <http://xv.by/%FD%F2%ED%EE%F1.html>

⁵⁸ Iskhakov R. R. *Etnicheskaya identichnost' v politynicheskoy srede (deyatelnostnij podxod)*, Moscow, 2000

URL: <http://iskhakov.narod.ru/diss.html>

⁵⁹ Barth F., op. cit., 2006, p. 20.

have common ideas and operate on their basis, they become group, and ethnicity can assume organizational and institutional forms.

Fredrik Barth is a follower of the constructivist understanding of the nature of the ethnic/ethnicity. In mobilization of ethnicity he assigns a main part to leaders who pursue political aims. In the theory of collective actions explaining ethnic conflicts, it is now rather widespread thesis. It has been repeated many times by those who in power structures had to regulate interethnic collisions. In Russia the theoretical positions of this thesis have been considered by V.A.Tishkov.⁶⁰

Ethnic borders structure a social life in a special way: they dictate the difficult organization of behavior and the social relations caused by the fact mutual ethnic categorization.

Research of ethnic borders is one of the approaches to studying of contradictions between ethnic groups for the purposes of finding ways of settlement and optimization of their relations. "Ethnic border designates this group self, but not only cultural valuable that it includes"⁶¹. In the Russian science the concept of "ethnic border", established by the Fredrik Barth, began to be filled with real sense and gets popularity during the last years first of all in connection with search of ways of "airclearing" or the prevention of interethnic tension. For the socially-psychological concept of interethnic relations "the ethnic border" has special sense. According to Barth, the ethnic group exists on the basis of the cultural maintenance that exists in borders which the group to itself outlines.

Certainly, "ethnic borders" are not equivalent to the multi-coloured contours on the maps to be analysed in this thesis, nor to administrative borders. The contours only reflect the moving of the people in the stage of history. The more deeply back in history one goes, the more relative these borders are. The ethnic border is a characteristic which describes an ethnic group not as territorially-administrative formation and as a cultural and socially-psychological generality of people. The taken-in-itself cultural characteristics of an ethnic group and psychological distinctions substantially defined by them are not the most important thing for understanding of border. By contrast, cultural characteristics are subject to constant changes. According to Bart, the ethnic border reflects result of internal social designing or the organization of cultural and psychological distinctions in the conditions of interaction of the given ethnic group with other groups.⁶²

During the empirical researches of the psychological aspect of this fact two key aspects have appeared:

⁶⁰URL: <http://valerytishkov.ru/cntnt/publikacii3/lekcii2/lekcii/etnichnost.html>

⁶¹ Barth F., op. cit., p. 17.

⁶² Ibid, p. 21.

1. The ethnic border as a concept of phenomenological field of interethnic tension is a psychological result of a universal tendency for all who live on the earth to divide the world into the “insiders” and “outsiders”. In our context it happens on the basis of an ethnicity. The alternative “we-they” is the psychological mechanism of the organization of the cultural essence of group. The ethnic border as a social-psychological composition reflects internal vision by group of limits of an area cultural-psychological distinctiveness and freedom.⁶³

2. “Notions, ideas about borders appearing in the “heads” of people reflect a psychological distance not only between ethnic groups, but also in groups and are embodied in real practice of interethnic relations. Studying ethnic borders in such case is very important, as their fortification reflects growth of disintegration tendencies and development of contradictions between the people”⁶⁴.

The opposition “we-they”⁶⁵ is the central psychological component of various concepts of intergroup and interethnic relations. At empirical level as a structuring principle it is used in numerous researches of stereotypes, installations and values as elements of ethnic consciousness or identity. The alternative of the “we-they” represents itself as the main structural parameter during research of cognitive models of ethnic situations on the basis of the analysis of a discourse of their participants. Stance on another as to an “outsiders” means existence of limits of mutual understanding that reflects distinctions in judgments, values, ways of behavior. Consequently restriction of interaction in those limits in which presumably there is a common understanding and the common interests. The marked ethnic border is connected with decrease in ethnic tolerance and applies restrictions on interethnic interactions.

The ethnic border can become a precise line of demarcation if its psychological maintenance is supplemented by territorial, confessional or linguistic claims. With growth of interethnic intensity ethnic borders appear all more distinctly. Quite often they become more really than administrative borders as in fact they have a function of division of ethnic groups.

This illustrates how lines of ethnic borders can become imagined socially-psychological delimiters, and sometimes, also “breaks” between the people. Border zones are areas of the greatest intensity of interethnic contacts and action of boundary psychological reactions and security or protecting cordons from each party. Ethnically

⁶³ Lur'e S. V. Istoricheskaya etnologiya.

URL:<http://www.gumer.info/bibliotek/Buks/History/Lyrie/49.php>

⁶⁴ Barth F., op. cit., p.19.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p.30.

intolerance persons, leaders and the campaigners of national movements having appropriate ideology - all these people with different activity rates “guard” the ethnic borders.

In some cases the ethnic border can be a collision line of ethnicities. From defensive, protective line it is capable to turn to the psychological tool of alienation and ethnic disintegration in a society. On basis of socially perceptive mechanisms regulating intergroup perception there is a reservation of the negative information, selectivity of perception on an ethnosocial basis.

Various perceptions of the same border, probably, are caused by distinctions between groups in a core set of psychocultural characteristics or psychological universals.

Different ideas about borders can lead to an increase of impenetrability of borders at the socially-psychological level and, accordingly, to falling off in understanding between the people and to restriction of limits of interaction between these people. It can lead to the following processes: restructurization of intragroup and intergroup relations, narrowing (restriction) of the general intercultural semantic zones, transformations motivational-necessary and protective structures.

Based on all this information it is possible to make three main conclusions for this work:

1. The border is social construction
2. The border is an imagined line which exists in our imagination
3. The border can be perceived absolutely differently by representatives of various groups

Chapter Two: Maps as Study Methods

In this thesis I use a cartographical method as a research method. I focus a lot of attention on the analysis of the maps that illustrate a limitation and demarcation of borders, objects and transport routes in Arctic regions.

As was emphasized in the previous section, the meaning of boundaries is very important in international relations. Borders are a part of the production and institutionalization of territories and territoriality and partly results of history. The latter notion is put into practice by the popular acceptance of classification of space into “ours” and “the others”⁶⁶. Borders always have a very important symbolic, cultural, contested and of course historical significance for local communities. The question of boundary demarcation is a geopolitical question of primary importance. “Geopolitics is all about the clash of there very different stories and the cultural representations of space”⁶⁷. However, the role of borders on local and national levels is very often different. The location of a boundary is more important for states, than for local communities. For local population the border can become both a dividing line, and a source of contacts and interactions between representatives of various communities. In the words of Eiki Berg and Saima Oras:

Thus, people living in the border areas often develop their own regional identities that may look at the boundary more from a cooperative than an antagonistic perspective. As a result, the issue raises questions such as how do political leaders explain the existing borders and justifies territorial claims? How do local people perceive borders - separation line or contact zones? ⁶⁸

That is why in this master’s thesis I investigate the question of border coincidence or non-coincidence of borders in the Arctic region between Russians and Norwegians. The cartographical method, namely the visual analysis of maps (in this work - the visual analysis of Russian and Norwegian maps) is used.

⁶⁶ Berg E. and Oras S. Writing Post-Soviet Estonia onto the World Map. Political Geography, 2000, p. 2.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 1.

However, first of all, in order to use a cartographical method it is necessary to give a definition of this method and to consider in more details that it represents, and as such concepts as geopolitics, a political map, a map, political geography and cartography.

2.1 Geopolitics as a discipline and use of maps for the political purposes

The geopolitics is a science that connects spatial-geographical factors and the policy of the states and explains political decisions by a level of society's development, growth of power and influence of the states, it is a scientific discipline about division and repartition of spheres of influence, about change of frontiers, about the unions and wars between powers⁶⁹.

Cartographic methods are closely connected to geopolitics due to which a brief elaboration of geopolitics is at place as a background to the introduction of the method. Geopolitics has researched maps for a long time. However, the history and destiny of this science is paradoxical. On the one hand, the concept "geopolitics" became usual and customary. This concept is actively used in the modern policy. There are many new geopolitical journals and institutes. Books of founders of this discipline are published and republished, conferences, symposiums are arranged, geopolitical committees and the commissions are created.

However, even at the present stage of development of our society geopolitics finally did not become one of the fundamental and abstract sciences. First geopolitical works of Ratzel, Kjellen and Mackinder have touched off a negative reaction of scientific community. "Representatives of a classical science considered that the geopolitics pretend to excessive general conclusions, and consequently called in question its validity and truthfulness."⁷⁰

This difficult destiny of geopolitics as a science has been partly connected with the political side of the problem. The opinion has affirmed that the German geopoliticians supplied Hitler's regime with pseudo-scientific base substantially and theoretically

⁶⁹ Isaev. B.A. Geopolitika. Chrestomatiya (Geopolitics. Chrestomathy), SPb, 2007, p. 5.

⁷⁰ Dugin A. Osnovi geopolitiki (Fundamental geopolitics), Moscow, p. 13.

prepared war crimes of the Third Reich, expansion, wars, deportations. (First, it is Charles Haushofer, the German geopolitician whom one time was close connected to the Fuhrer.)

In fact the German geopolitics at theoretical level is a little different from Anglo–Saxon geopolitics (Mackinder, Mahan, Spykman), French (Vidal de La Blanche), Russian “military geography” (Milyutin, Snesarev) etc. “The difference was in radical and cruel methods which were used by the Third Reich at realization of ideas of geopolitics in practice.”⁷¹

Very often geopolitics too openly shows basic mechanisms of the world policy which various regimes more often prefer to hide behind unclear rhetoric or abstract ideological schemes.

For example, ideas of one of the first geopoliticians, the founding-father of this discipline Mackinder were not accepted in the academic circles, but he participated actively in formation of an English policy of first half of the 20th century and he grounded a theoretical basis of the international strategy of England.

Thus, geopolitics is not at all being accepted among classical sciences, but geopolitics is extremely effective in practice and its value surpasses many conventional disciplines in some aspects.

2.2 Views of the main representatives of geopolitics school

Writings of many representatives of geopolitical schools with all their distinctions and sometimes contradictions develop an overall picture which allows to speak about geopolitics as about something finished and defined. Some authors and dictionaries differ in definition of the basic subject of studying of geopolitics and the main methodological principles. The historical facts and a close relationship between geopolitics and world politics, close link of geopolitics with problems of the power and dominating ideologies is the reason of existing situation. As has been argued by Eiki Berg and Saima Oras:

In recent literature, many conventional geopolitical theories have been pushed aside as nationalistic vision, self-deceiving myths or simple expressions of capricious human will. Many scholars have related geopolitics merely to great power politics or attempts at legitimating

⁷¹ Dugin A., op. cit., Moscow, p. 14.

aggression in the world arena, but they forget that also small states can draw inspiration from geopolitical and historical facts in their socio-spatial construction efforts. This argument emphasises the basic aim of every state to delimit its territory and separate “ours” from “the others”. The demarcation of boundaries is fundamental to the spatial organisation of people and social groups.⁷²

Synthetic character of this discipline assumes inclusion in it of many additional subjects (for example, geography, history, a demography, strategy, ethnography, religious studies, ecology, military science, history of ideology, sociology, political science and etc).

According to Alexander Dugin, “principles of geopolitics are very useful for the analysis of political history, history of diplomacy and strategy planning.” He argues that this science has many intercrossing with sociology, political science, ethnology, military strategy, diplomacy, history of religions etc: “It is connected indirectly, but is sometimes very demonstrably with economy up to that some geopolitics suggested to found a new science geoeconomy.”⁷³

Dugin names geopolitics a “future science”⁷⁴ and elements of this science will be soon taught at schools and universities, and by means of the geopolitical analysis it is possible to comprehend history of the whole epoch and generations. “At the moment during the attraction of all sciences to synthesis, integration and creation of new interscientific macrodisciplines and multidimensional models the geopolitics reveal the significance both for theoretical researches, and for practical steps in a management of difficult civilization processes on the scale of a planet or on the scale of the separate states or blocks of the states.”⁷⁵

The main founding-father of German geopolitics Ratzel considered that “the states at all stages of the development are considered as organisms which by necessity reach out with the soil and for this reason should be studied from the geographical point of view. As the ethnography and history show, the states develop on spatial base being more and more interfaced and merging with it, taking from it more and more energy. Thus, the states are the spatial phenomena operated and recovered by this space; and geography should to

⁷² Berg E. and Oras S., op. cit., p. 1.

⁷³ Dugin A., op. cit., p. 31.

⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 34.

⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 30.

describe, compare and measure them. The states are entered in a series of the phenomena of expansion of the Life, being the higher point of these phenomena.⁷⁶

According to Ratzel “the state develops as an organism attached to a special part of a surface of the earth and its characteristics develop from the people and soil characteristics.”⁷⁷ He thinks that scales, a location and borders are the most important characteristics of state. Then follows soil types together with flora, irrigation and at last correlation with other conglomerates of a terrestrial surface, and first of all, with the adjoining seas and unsettled earths which, at first sight, do not represent special political interest. Complex of all these characteristics make the country (das Land). However, when they speak about “our country“ they add to it all that the person has created and all memoirs connected with the earth. In such a way initially purely geographical concept turns to spiritual and emotional connection between people of the country and their history”.

The other well-known author Kjellen named geopolitics “a science about the state as the geographical organism embodied in space.”⁷⁸ American Alfred Mahan unlike Ratzel, Kjellen and Mackinder was the military man, not the scientist. He did not use the term “geopolitics”, but the technique of its analysis and the main conclusions correspond to the geopolitical approach. The most books of Mahan have been devoted to one theme of “Sea Force”, “Sea Power”⁷⁹. Name Mahan became synonymous to this term. Mahan was not only the theorist of military strategy, but actively participated in the politician. In particular, he has made strong impact on politicians.

Vidal de La Blanche considers as the founder of the French geographical school. According to Paul Vidal de La Blanche the person is also “the major geographical factor”⁸⁰, but thus it also “is allocated by the initiative”⁸¹. The person is not only a scenery fragment, but also the main actor of performance.

Not only ideas of these authors, but also methods that they applied are very interesting. For example, Spykman has famously suggested to use a special plan for definition of power of the state. It allocated 10 criteria on which basis it is possible to define geopolitical power of the state⁸²: 1) surface of territory, 2) nature of borders, 3) population,

⁷⁶ Political geography. Ratzel

⁷⁷ Dugin A., op. cit., p. 35.

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 33.

⁷⁹ Mahan A. T. Vliyanie morskoy sily na Istoriyu. 1660-1783 (Influence of Sea power Upon History 1660-1783), Moscow, AST, 2002, p. 51.

⁸⁰ Vidal de La Blanche P., Principles of Human Geography, 1918

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Spykman N. American's strategy in World Politics. 1942, p. 44.

4) existence or lack of minerals resources, 5) economic and technological development, 6) financial power, 7) ethnic homogeneity, 8) level of social integration, 9) political stability and 10) national spirit.

If the total result of an estimation of geopolitical potential of the state by these criteria appears rather low, it means that this state is compelled to enter to more common strategic union, renounce a part of the sovereignty for the global strategic geopolitical patronage.

All ideas of Carl Schmitt, who was a German lawyer, political scientist, philosopher, historian are linked with geopolitical concepts. This is also very interesting. He has developed one of the most important geopolitical theories. This is the theory of “the big space” (*Grossraum*)⁸³. According to this concept, all development of the states is an aspiration to getting the greatest territorial space. The principle of imperial integration is an expression of logic and natural human aspiration to synthesis. Phases of territorial expansion of the state, therefore, correspond to phases of movement of human spirit to universalism.

Thus, the main theorists of geopolitics emphasise close interrelation of territory and a policy of the state and underline the important role of borders at definition of power of the state. All these facts matter as the meaning of geographical location is a very important. Eiki Berg and Saima Oras also note that “many scholars used to think that geographical location is one of the most important factors in international relations, leaving but a few others choices for a state to operate in the anarchic power structure”. They suggest that “more recently, however, others have argued that what really makes a difference in international relations is the way in which a state’s relative location is constructed and what strategic meaning is given to its territory”⁸⁴. This is interesting from the point of view of the present research which analyses Russian and Norwegian approaches to territorialization of geopolitical space in the Arctic. Also, practically all researchers underline importance of borders in the international relations and that “borders and boundary-producing practices reveal the national experience of peace and people”⁸⁵. For example, Paasi supposes that “the symbolic construction of space and boundaries is based on the language of difference and integration.”⁸⁶.

⁸³ Dugin A., op. cit., p. 36.

⁸⁴ Berg E. and Oras S., op. cit., p. 2.

⁸⁵ Berg E. and Oras S., op. cit., p. 2.

⁸⁶ Paasi A. Territories, Boundaries and Consciousness: The Changing Geographies of the Finnish-Russian Border. John Wiley and Sons. 1996, p. 5.

2.3 Definition and function of maps, political and geographical maps

In this research work, geographical and political maps have been used for the analysis of perceptions of Norwegians and Russian about borders in Arctic regions.

According to Shalishev, “the term “map” came from the Greek word *chartes* which meant sheet of the papyrus for the writing. At all times it was accepted to define a geographical map as a reduction of a terrestrial surface on a plane”⁸⁷. There are many maps which contain conclusions which are based not only on facts, but also on ideas of the author of map about the essence of objects and the phenomena which he/she has embodied on a map, their communications and interactions. Such maps are of special interest for this work as they demonstrate perceptions of various communities and groups about borders, spatial objects, the phenomena (according to the Anderson of “imagined communities”). These perceptions are closely connected with psychology of the person, with his or her ideas about the world. Analysing maps thus allows to achieve an objective of this work which is to draw a conclusions about whether the Russians and the Norwegians have identical or differing perceptions and ideas about borders in Arctic regions.

The political map has been used in this work as it gives the information on the world countries, on forms of government and a state system. The political map reflects the main political and geographical changes: formations of the new independent states, change of their status, merge and division of the states, losses or sovereignty acquisition, change of the area of the states, replacement of their capitals, change of the name of the states and capitals, change of forms of the state government.

There are two possible kinds of changes on a political map: quantitative and qualitative

A quantitative change refers to an act of annexing to the state of newly discovered lands, territorial acquiring and losses after wars, union or collapse of the states.

A qualitative change is an acquisition of the sovereignty, change of the form of government and state system, formation of the interstate unions. Now, quantitative changes are an uncommon and rare phenomenon, in general take place qualitative changes on a political map of the world.⁸⁸

In this research geographical maps as maps of a terrestrial surface are also used because these kinds of maps demonstrate the location, condition and links between the

⁸⁷ Salishev K. A. Kartographiya (Map study), Moscow.1990.p. 4.

⁸⁸URL: http://sch7.goruo.kostanay.kz/files/proekti_sch/history/history/1.htm

various natural and public phenomena and change with time, development of this phenomena .

It is possible to divide maps into following groups according the following criteria:

- according to the scale
- according to the content (thematic or whole geographic)
- according to the territorial area (maps of world, continents, states, etc.)
- according to the purpose of this maps (help, educational, tourist)

Thus, the map is a constructed cartographical projection, a demagnified and generalised image of a surface of the Earth, other heavenly body or the extraterrestrial space, showing the objects located on it or the phenomena in a special system of signs.

Maps also are considered as a “graphic-signed models of the reality”⁸⁹.

According to Salishev K. A, maps can carry out communicative, operative, informative and prognostic functions.⁹⁰

There is a special science which is engaged in studying of territorial disposal and a balance of political forces in the countries and between the separate countries and groups of the countries in connection with their social and economic structure, questions of territorial formation of the countries and the states, their frontiers, historical areas, the administrative device. This science is called a political geography. As defined by Muchaev, “political geography is the branch of knowledge studying interdependence of political processes with territorial, economic-geographical, physiological-climatic and other factors”⁹¹.

There is another special science – cartography – that is engaged in a reconstruction and creation of new maps. The high level of development of modern cartography leads to constant enlargement of its interests. The technique and method of cartography is constantly improved, new types of maps are created, and cartographers put and solve new problems. One of such problems is using of maps in scientific researches and economic activities:

⁸⁹ Kartografiya i Osnovy Topofraphii (Cartography and Foundations of Topography), (Editor Gryunberg G. Y.), Moscow, 1991, p. 6.

⁹⁰ Salishev K. A., op. cit., 1990, p. 263.

⁹¹ Muchaev R.T. Geopolitika(Geopolitics), Moscow, 2007, p. 55.

Cartography is a science that reflects acts of nature and public events on maps and other cartographical products about characteristics of these products, methods of their creation and use. Cartography achievements are materialised in maps, atlases, relief maps, globes and other cartographical products making production of cartographical branch and the industry⁹².

Map appearance and map delineation is a duty of cartography and technical design that study the most adequate ways of reflect cartographical information. This sphere of cartography is closely interconnected with perceptual psychology, semiotics with humanitarian aspects.

There is information that belongs to the different sciences on geographical and political maps. That is why it is also possible to point out such parts of cartography as historical cartography, geological cartography, economic cartography, cartography of soil science etc. These parts concern cartography only as a method, and according to the substance they concern many appropriate sciences.

Digital (or computer) cartography is engaged computer processing of cartographical data. The digital cartography is more the tool of cartography caused by a modern level of development of technology, than independent section of cartography. The digital cartography has changed the ways of visualization of cartographical products.⁹³

2.4 The main methods of map analysis and map processing

In this master's thesis I use cartographical method as this method studies question of using maps for knowledge of the facts and events depicted on them. K.A. Salishchev has first formulated the concept of this method.

The cartographical method of research is an “application of maps for the description, analysis, and knowledge of the phenomena, for receiving new knowledge about them and for characterizing their spatial interrelations and forecasts”⁹⁴. A cartographical method is used for research on principles of spatial location of the phenomena, their interrelations, dependencies and development.

⁹² Kartografiya i Osnovy Topofraphii (Cartography and Foundations of Topography), op. cit., p. 4.

⁹³ URL: www.ali-nabiyev.narod.ru/comgeography.htm

⁹⁴ Salishev K., op. cit., 1990, p. 264.

According to Norwegian scholar Klave, a method means “the road to the goal”⁹⁵, and, from the point of view of another Norwegian scholar Hellevik, it can be said to be a procedure or a tool to solve problems to achieve new knowledge.⁹⁶

Thus, there are some basic ways of the analysis and processing of maps within the limits of a cartographical method:

1. The visual analysis (this direct visual research on maps of spatial location, combinations, links and dynamics of the phenomena, facts and events).

2. Graphic method of the analysis (this is construction on maps of structural stocks and profiles that give visual perception about vertical structure of the phenomena, the block diagrammes combining the perspective image of district with its vertical profiles, different kinds of schedules and diagrammes, etc.)

3. Cartometrical works that consist in definition on maps of co-ordinates, distances, lengths, heights, the areas, volumes, angles, etc. and another quantitative characteristics of the objects depicted on a map (with an estimation of accuracy of received results).

4. The mathematical -statistical analysis. This is usually applied for following purposes:

A) For research on maps of any homogeneous phenomena (temperatures of air, density of agricultural population, productivity, etc.), their location and the time changes defined by many factors with unknown functional dependence;

B) For finding-out of the form and closeness of links between the various phenomena (by means of calculation of correlation dependences - factors of correlation, correlation relations etc.).

5. The mathematical modelling that has one main aim - the creation of spatial mathematical models. In other words it is a mathematical description of the phenomena (or processes) on the base of information which have been released from a map, and the subsequent research of models for interpretation and an explanation of the phenomena; in particular, the technique of drawing up of the approximating equations of surfaces - real (for example, a relief of a terrestrial surface) or abstract (for example, an annual layer of deposits) is developed.

6. Remaking (transformation) of maps for getting the derivative maps that specially intended and convenient for concrete research.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Kvale S. *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju* (The qualitative research interview), Oslo: Ad Notam Gyldendal, 1997

⁹⁶ Hellevik O. *Forskningsmetode i sosiologi og statsvitenskap* (Research methods in sociology and political science), Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1991

It is usual for a cartographical method to use jointly all of these methods and to use them in various combinations. Many of these methods are connected with the use of computers for the automatic data processing, released from a map in the “manual” way. At the same time ways for automatic presentation on a map of the data necessary for research, and for their interfaced automatic representation (for example, for automatic designation of areas on maps) enters into the use. The Russian and Norwegian atlases published approximately during the one time period are used in this thesis paper for the analysis of maps. This makes sense given that at Soviet times Russian maps were rather different from modern Russian maps and that atlases are not random products:

The geographical atlas names the systematical collection of geographical maps that have been made under the general program as complete product. The atlas is not only a collection of different maps, not their mechanical collection in the form of the book or an album; it includes a system of maps integrally connected among themselves and each other supplementing, the system caused by appointment of the atlas and features of its use.⁹⁸

2.5 Different modes of map analysis

Well-known scholar Norman Blaikie has defined the research method as “the actual techniques or procedures used to gather and analyses data related to some research question or hypothesis”⁹⁹. In the framework of cartographical method there are different ways of the analysis of maps:

1. The description by maps. It is a traditional and well-known mode of the analysis of maps which is used in this master’s thesis. The purpose of this mode is following: to reveal existence on a map of the studied phenomena, characteristics of their location and interrelation of them. The description by maps is a qualitative way of the analysis of the cartographical picture, but it is possible to use the quantitative characteristics, as, for example, in this research. The procedure of the description is simple and easy, however, there are special request rulers. Starting the description, it is necessary to estimate first a

⁹⁷ URL: <http://bse.sci-lib.com/article059565.html>

⁹⁸ Salishev K., op. cit., p. 185.

⁹⁹ Blaikie N. Approaches to Social Enquiry. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993

quality of the map, a series of maps or the atlas, to get any ideas about contemporaneity of this maps, details, principles of creations, character of deformations caused by a cartographical projection. It is necessary to study a legend, paying the main attention to principles of classification of the imaged phenomena and way of the image. It is very important to keep an order from the general to the special, i.e. to give at first the characteristic of the cores, defining lines, then in details to analyse separate features and particulars during the process of describing any phenomenon, facts, events or territory. It is a very important to make a conclusions in the end. Any scientific description should be logical, is strictly ordered, constructed under the special plan.

Any scientific description by maps should correspond to the following principles:

- logicity, orderliness and sequence of the description;
- selection and ordering of the facts;
- entering in the description of elements of comparison, analogy, comparison to use of quantity indicators;
- an estimation of the described phenomena or processes from the point of view of research specific tasks;
- the precise wording of conclusions and recommendations.¹⁰⁰

Descriptions by maps are extensively used at a preliminary stage of research for general acquaintance with the studied object, planning of research, definition of efficient methods, a choice of source cartographical materials. However, the description also is a very important at the final stage of research when it is necessarily to interpret informatory all received results. When research is well-planned mathematical methods are combined with descriptions and not substitute and not supersede each other. It provides necessary balance between qualitative and quantitative methods of the cartographical analysis.

According to K.A. Salishev, it is also possible to use other methods not only description by maps. These involve graphical methods, grapho-analytical methods, mathematical analysis, mathematical statistics and theory of information.¹⁰¹

Graphical method of the analysis of maps is a “construction on maps of a various kinds of profiles, transversal sections, pictograms, epures, diagrams and block diagrams. To give visual two-or the three-dimensional presentation of the studied phenomena is the main purpose of this group of methods”¹⁰².

Many graphic constructions thanks to the simplicity became habitual accessible tools of research.

¹⁰⁰ URL: <http://geosite.com.ru/pageid-208-1.html>

¹⁰¹ Salishev K., op. cit., p. 59.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 177.

Profiles, transversal sections. Demonstrativeness is the main characteristic of profiles. They are used for the most various purposes. It is convenient to reveal some features of the surfaces that are imaged on maps by means of the displaced profiles.¹⁰³

Pictograms, epures. Pictograms are made more often for revealing of dependence between the phenomena. During the studying at different times maps usually make and use the construction of pictograms that demonstrate dynamics of development of the phenomena and processes. Epure is a special kind of the pictogram that combines on plane different spatial transformations.¹⁰⁴

Diagrams. It is easy to analyze the information which has been taken the reading from map by means of various diagrams. The linear, area, volume diagrams which like pictograms illustrate dependence between the phenomena or dynamics of their development are widely used in cartography. In different researches roses are often used. Roses are diagram, which perfectly impart the dominating and satellitic areas of focus of the phenomena that localized on lines. Block diagrams is the three-dimensional drawing that combine the perspective representation of any surface with longitudinal and transversal profiles.¹⁰⁵

Grapho-analytical method is a “method of the analysis of maps which map-makers use for measurement and calculation by maps of various quantitative values”¹⁰⁶. There are some kinds of measurements from the point of view of methodology :

- measurements of plane coordinates of objects or the phenomena in geographical, rectangular, polar or false grid coordinate systems;
- measurements of applicates of phenomena represented on maps that is connected with determination of absolute and relative heights, depths, capacities, i.e. the vertical component of phenomena;
- linear measurements, i.e. determination of lengths of straight lines, crooked alignment, curve lines and distances;
- measurements of volumes of various objects and the phenomena;
- measurements of the areas of flat surfaces
- angular measurements that connected with map fixation of angle of altitude, horizontal angle and bearings.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ URL: <http://geosite.com.ru/pageid-208-1.html>

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Berlyant A. M. Kartographicheskiy metod issledovaniya. (Cartographical method of research), Moscow, 1988, p. 41.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 43.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 44.

Cartometrical method. During this method "on maps of large and average scales are measured length of straight lines and crooked alignment by means of compasses instrument and transversal scale to a nail for this maps"¹⁰⁸. Map-maker can face with problems during the measurement of lengths of crooked alignment of rivers, coastal lines of the seas and lakes, contours, horizontals. Surveyor's wheel is used for measurement of such kinds of quantities, but not always it helps to solve researcher problems. Different methods are applied to more exact measurements.

Measurement of the areas on maps is materialized with the help of integrating instrument, balance measurements or measuring grid of various constructions.

During the work with hypsometric, geological, hydrological, climatic and other maps often there is a necessity of measurement of volumes of any objects. If the object is represented on a map in isolines it is important to present its volume as a sum of separate layers concluded between planes of section.¹⁰⁹

Method of mathematical analysis. Approximations. "Method of the mathematical analysis is used for creation of spatial mathematical models of phenomena which are studied by maps. Many phenomena and the processes represented on maps are connected by functional dependences among them or can be presented as space and time function is a reason of possibility in principle of using of this group of methods is put in pawn that"¹¹⁰. These dependences are very multivarious, difficult and are not always studied enough, but often it is possible to simplify them, abstract from complicate characteristics and unimportant links and reveal the main principles and approximate them by noted functions.¹¹¹

Receptions of mathematical statistics are designed to studying by maps of spatial and time statistical ensembles and formed by them of statistical surfaces. Statistical ensembles are called mass, qualitatively homogeneous sets of random variables or the phenomena.

On maps of statistical sets form statistical surfaces which are usually represented by isolines or cartograms. Statistical surfaces have maxima (ridgers), minima (narrows), slopes, i.e. have a special statistical relief.¹¹²

Methods of information theory are used for an estimation of degree of homogeneity and mutual correspondence of the phenomena studied on maps.

¹⁰⁸ Salishev K., op. cit., p. 143.

¹⁰⁹ Berlyant A. M., op. cit., p. 45.

¹¹⁰ Salishev K., op. cit., p. 144.

¹¹¹ URL: <http://geosite.com.ru/pageid-208-1.html>

¹¹² URL: <http://www.gisa.ru/13579.html>

Thus, variants of a cartographical method of research are rather various. It became an integral part of the most theoretical and practical researches and one of main methods of knowledge for sciences about the Earth. Such sciences as geology and morphology that traditionally connected with topographic maps have a long experience in this sphere. Economic-geographical researches are also closely connected with maps. Geophysical sciences constantly use the analysis and processing of maps.¹¹³

The method develops in close interaction with methods of exact sciences, using up-to date achievements of cartography, mathematics, computer engineering and automation. New original methods of the analysis of maps are constantly appearing, the technical base is improved, and the scope of functions enlarges from problems that are common for geography in general to branch-wise problems.¹¹⁴

Practical requirements of separate branches of physical and economic geography, geology, geophysics and other branches of sciences about the Earth are the most important condition of formation of a cartographical method. At the modern level of theoretical development of these branches of knowledge the analysis of maps is used as one of the main methods of research.¹¹⁵

Thus, the cartographical method of research has all characteristics of a scientific method. It has exact sphere of duties, system of special and interconnected methods of the analysis and transformation of the cartographical representation. The period of intensive development and method improvement has begun rather recently, but it has already repeatedly proved reliability and efficiency. Method development goes in several directions. The main prospects are connected with the progress of complex thematic mapping, with creation of maps and atlases of new type, including maps and atlases that are specially designed for pursuance scientific researches. Indeed, “maps are extremely effective tool of storage and transfer of the spatial information”.¹¹⁶

By means of a cartographical method the following actions are consistently realized:

1. Information uptake as a result of observation of some part of the reality - its phenomena and processes
2. Processing and map creation
3. Researching of a map in order to acquire new information

¹¹³ URL:www.issuu.com/cartography-book/docs/

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Salishev K., op. cit., p. 9.

4. Mental formation in consciousness of the researcher of perception about the model reality on the map on the basis of the information that he/she get with help of map and before stored knowledge

Last two points belong to cartographical method. Thus, within the social sciences it is usual to distinguish between quantitative and qualitative methods.¹¹⁷ Simplified, it can be argued that “quantitative studies provide an overview and qualitative studies more deep knowledge.”¹¹⁸. As regards, the visual analysis of maps, which is used in this work, it is the most frequently used method of the analysis on maps. This method is based on the essence of maps as a graphic-sign model that copy visual forms into spatial forms, relations and structure. Even superficial view on a map forms visual perception about space of the imaged phenomena. The attentive analysis allows to establish principles and rules, spatial interrelations, similar or various character of the phenomena. It is qualitative method, but quantity methods are partially used also in this master’s thesis. Description by map of the studied phenomena, the analysis, generalisation and final conclusions is the result of the visual analysis in this research.

¹¹⁷ Madsen B. Om kvantitative og kvalitative metoders videnskabelighet. In Broch, T., K. Krarup, P.K. Larsen and O. Reiper (editors): Kvalitative metoder i dansk samfundsforskning. Koebenhavn: Institutt for organisation og arbejds sociologi. (About quantitative and qualitative methods scientific level. In: Broch, T., K. Krarup, P.K. Larsen & O. Reiper (editors): Qualitative methods in Danish Social Science. Copenhagen: Institute for organization and labour sociology), 1981

¹¹⁸ Groenmo S. Datakombinasjoner og analysestrategier. I: Dale, B., M. Jones and W. Martinussen (editors) : Metode på tvers. (Data combinations and strategies for analysis”. In: Dale, B., M. Jones and W. Martinussen (editors): Across methods), Trondheim: Tapir, 1985

Chapter Three: The Arctic Region on Russia and Norwegian Maps

At the first sight objects, distances, interrelations and colours which map-makers use during the process of creation maps can seem insignificant. In fact it can tell us about much. The process of creation maps is closely connected with perceptual psychology. The analysis of the Russian and Norwegian maps demonstrates that our perceptions about borders states are essentially different. In order to use the maps in this research I have acquired a permission to reproduce the maps in the appendices from the Norwegian and Russian publishers.

3.1 Use of different colors

In order to designate Russia and Norway the Russian and Norwegian maps use approximately identical colours. Russia is usually coloured in light-beige, yellow and light brown tone, Norway is usually coloured in violet. The Norwegian authorities are very much aware of the fact that modern Russia is not the Soviet Union and do not try to use a red colour and symbol of star during the designation of Russia on maps. These stereotypes reach back. In some Norwegian newspapers still it is possible to find comical caricatures with figure of all known Russian symbol - Russian bear - as, for example, in newspaper *Dagbladet*, 08.12.2008.¹¹⁹(See Appendix 1). Any similar information was naturally not found in such official documents as maps.

It is impossible to contradict the fact of psychological and psychophysiological influence of colour on the person. The colour symbolism played a very important role in a life of people since ancient times. Now colour has, of course, lost the magic and ritual functions, but each colour leads definite associations in the person's mind. Goethe, Newton, Kandinsky, Lusher and many others researched colours. There is a special science - colour psychology. However, "at the moment colour psychology is an empirical science. The insufficient degree of classification and generalisation of collected information is one of the main obstacles in a process of creation the scientific theory about interdependence of colour and mentality"¹²⁰.

"Violet colour in the associations usually is connected with such facts as religious adherence, sanctity, abstinence, penance, grief, moderation, nostalgia, distress,

¹¹⁹ International forum. *Dagbladet*. Den nye naboen, John O. Egeland, 08.12.2008
URL: <http://www.internasjonaltforum.no/dok/artikkel482.asp> (02.02.2009)

¹²⁰ Bazyma B.A. *Cvet I psikhika* (Color and mentality), p. 1-2.
URL: http://www.koob.ru/books/color_and_mentality.rar (23.03.2009)

mourning, an old age. In addition, there are also associations with humility and judiciousness”¹²¹. Serov N. used these associations in his book “Colour and culture”.

Ancient people considered violet colour as a colour of wisdom, colour of cognition of truth. “Colour refers to the physical characteristics of a reality, it can be measured by means of equipments, and its characteristics can be mathematically modeled in this way as it happens in colometry, and in this context colour has objective value. On the other hand, colour is a subjective psychophysiological impression which is embodied in special feeling, that are various for different people.”¹²²

Influence of colours is well-known and are accepted by majority of people. This fact was often investigated in serious research experiments. But this influence is not completely studied.

Regarding psychological influence of colour, it is important to consider that fact that in various societies and cultures there are different points of view about this question. Even detached results of researches of influence of colour sometimes bear the impress of belonging to definite cultural group of people whose opinion was formed throughout centuries. It is impossible to hold to any objective opinion of this question because it is quite difficult to separate psychology of colour from its symbolism.

In my opinion, however, in the presentation of Norway on maps, the violet colour is used very often because of its association with stability, reliability, moderation as this state’s selfhood is also associated with all these things.

For designation Russia on maps cerographers usually use light-beige, yellow and light brown tone. These colours are very natural, composed and powerful. These colors, particularly brown, often are associated with conservatism and power.¹²³

3.2 Quantitative correlation of Norwegian and Russian maps in atlases

One is forced to accept the fact that Norwegian map-makers put greater emphasis on a “big neighbor” than Russian map-makers put on Norway. For example, in the Norwegian Atlas of the world “Gyldendals Store Verdens Atlas”, Oslo, p. 156-157, 2008 there is a separate map of Russia (See Appendices 28, 29) , and on the page 53 is noticed that “Russia extends over one and a half continent and is 1.8 times as large as the United States”.¹²⁴ (See Appendix 23). It may be concluded that relations with Russia are

¹²¹ Serov N. Cvet i kul'tura (Color and culture)

URL: http://www.koob.ru/serov/color_culture (23.03.2009)

¹²² Zheleznyakov V. Color and contrast. Technology and creative choice. VGIK. p. 22.

¹²³ Serov N. V. Cvet kul'turi.

URL: http://www.koob.ru/books/human/color_culture.zip

¹²⁴ “Gyldendals Store Verdens Atlas”, Oslo, p. 156-157, p. 53.

the important part of the Norwegian policy and maps demonstrate it. Norway is very often not singled out in a separate map in Russian atlases, it is represented in more details on the map “Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland” together with these northern countries and Iceland.¹²⁵ (See Appendix 6). It is important to underline that not only Norway, but Russia also pays to itself more attention. For example, there are 44 maps in the Russian World Atlas, among them 9 are maps of separate parts of Russia:

- Russia and the adjacent states (See Appendix 3)
- Russia. The north of the European part (See Appendix 4)
- Russia. The West and the centre of the European part
- Russia. The south of the European part
- Russia. The middle Volga region, Urals
- Russia. The north of Western Siberia
- Russia. The south of Western Siberia
- Russia. The Eastern Siberia
- Russia. The Far East¹²⁶

For comparison there are 59 maps in the Norwegian atlas and among them only 4 are maps of Norway:

- The south of Norway
- The south of Norway (northern part)
- Middle Norway and Svalbard
- Northern Norway (Nordland) and Trømso
- Troms and Finnmark¹²⁷

Many Norwegian atlases contain only one map of the Nordic countries in which Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland and Finland are represented together. This is the case, for example, in the Norwegian atlas of the world “Gyðendals Store Verdens Atlas”.¹²⁸ (See Appendix 26). This is absolutely not equivalent in proportion.

¹²⁵ Atlas Mira (Russian Atlas of the World) , Moscow, BELLI, Astrel', AST,2008, p. 26-27.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 6-23.

¹²⁷ “Gyðendals Familieatlas” , Oslo, 2001, p. 10-21.

¹²⁸ “Gyðendals Store Verdens Atlas”, op. cit., p. 84-85.

3.3 Russia: Europe or Asia?

At the same time the analysis of Norwegian maps demonstrates perception about placing Russia to a definite part of the world. According to Norwegian maps, Russia is mainly part of Asia.¹²⁹ (See Appendices 18 and 19) In order to depict Russia cartographers on the some Norwegian maps even use two colours dividing the Northwest of Russia and all residuary separate part, as, for example, on a political map of the world in “Gydendals Store Verdens Atlas”¹³⁰ and a political map of Asia in the atlas “Gydendals Familieatlas”¹³¹ (See Appendices 18 and 15). Thus, Norwegian maps mainly divide Russia by means of using colour in two parts - European and Asian, or very often consider Russia as a part of Asia. This reproduces ideas about Russia as a Eurasian country which is territoriality mostly a part Asia which prevail among Norwegian cartographers. According to Russian maps the situation is a little different. The most part of Russia belongs to Europe, according to the Russian maps. For example, the most part of Russia is represented on the map of Europe in the Russian Atlas of the world.¹³² (See Appendix 5).

The question of belonging Russia to Europe or Asia is caused by its middle position between these parts of the world. Appearance of so specific type of a civilization as Russian was assisted by its special geographical position which sometimes is called “evraziystvo”, i.e. marginal position of Russian society between the Western world and East (Muslim, Indo-Buddhist, Chinese-Japanese). This basic circumstance enables us to consider the action of three important factors: Western sociocultural influences; influences of East; and the logic and specific social dynamics, social and spiritual developments of the Russian world.

As a result this geographical betweenness of Russia was transformed in cultural marginalization, has lead to the most complicated problem of sociocultural self-determination. It was possible to solve this problem only by intellectual ways, therefore during the long period of history of Russia this question was a subject of disputes and discussions among the best thinkers and philosophers. The peak of interest to this problem was in second half 19 century. There was polemic among representatives of the main directions of public thought (they were called “zapadniki” and “slovyanofily”) about ways of socio-historical and cultural development of Russia in 1840-1850th. A.I. Herzen, N.P. Ogaryov, Granovsky, V.P. Botkin, N.H. Ketcher, K.D. Kavelin and others were active participants and members of Moscow western group. V.G. Belinsky had also been closely

¹²⁹ “Gydendals Store Verdens Atlas”, op. cit., p. 153.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 53.

¹³¹ “Gydendals Familieatlas”, op. cit., p. 54-55.

¹³² Atlas Mira (Russian Atlas of the World), op. cit., p. 24-25.

connected with members of this group. I.V. Kireevsky, P.V. Kireevsky, I.S. Aksakov, K.S. Aksakov, JU.F. Samarin are the most known representatives of an opposite group. If “zapadniki” supposed that countries of Western Europe and Russia develop according to the laws and principles that are common for all people that “slovyanofily” believed that the major historical problem of Russia is development of the original public and cultural beginnings.¹³³

Thus, the maps reflect a wider discourse whereby, for the Russian thinkers, this problem emerges as a question of the sense of existence of Russia in the world history. The solving of this question was accompanied by suppositions that Russia should have a special historical fate that is not similar to historical fate of western and east countries.

In practice it was expressed in constant vacillation of Russia between the West and the East, between two various systems of values. As a result, Russian society often had not time to adapt for one system, as it had to be reconstructed on a basis and according to another system. One values had not time to take effect thoroughly as there should be replace by others. In practice these vacillations often led to many of human tragedies.

Thus, in process of socio-cultural self-determination of the Russian society four main positions were found out:

Russia belongs to the East. Russia is made related with the East by disposition towards to communal and collectivist, disposition of the authorities towards autocratic and despotic management style, lawlessness of people, its custom to obey, that at all does not correspond to the western values.

Russia belongs to the West. Both native and western researchers adhered to such point of view, including such authoritative and well-known scientists as G.Fedotov and A.Toynbee.

Russian civilization does not belong neither Europe, nor Asia. P. Chaadaev was the first who came up with this idea. He suggested that Russians stay out of time and practically are not touched upon by the world education of humankind. “Historical isolation of Russia became its misfortune and has led to that it has lost the way on the earth, becoming a gap in a moral world order”¹³⁴. Visually it looked like Russia was

¹³³ Nazarenko M. A. Istoriya russkoj filosofii nachala i seredini XIX veka: zapadniki i slovyanofily. (History of Russian philosophy of the beginning and middle of XIX century zapadniki and slovyanofily) , Moscow, 2005, p. 3.

¹³⁴ Chaadaev P. Y. Apologiya sumasshedshego.
URL: <http://www.vehi.net/chaadaev/apologiya.html>

always late. As a result Russians only receive information about truths that are already well-known for others. The reason of it is the isolation of Russia.

Russia belongs both Europe, and Asia. Many great Russian thinkers, for example, Danilevsky, Dostoevsky and Solov'ev adhered to this position.

It is interesting to point out that whilst the Russian maps connect Russia more clearly to Europe, the historical debate on the uncertain position of Russia in-between Europe and Asia seems to motivate Norwegian maps to some extent. Furthermore, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark and Iceland are located on the map of North in the Norwegian "Gydenals Store Verdens Atlas". Russia, however, is beyond the bounds of this classification. Thus, according to the information that we can pick up from these maps according the point of view of the Norwegian cartographers, Russia is more likely a Eurasian or an Asian country than one of the Northern countries.

3.4 Location of Svalbard island (Spitsbergen)

In analyzing Russian and Norwegian perceptions on the Arctic, it is also necessary to focus attention to the location of the Norwegian island Svalbard on Russian and Norwegian maps as this area has been a cause of contention between these two countries.

First, on Norwegian maps this island is usually designated as Svalbard, which is quite reasonable and logical. This is the case, for example, in "Gydenals Store Verdens Atlas"¹³⁵ (See Appendix 21), or on a political map of the world that there is in "Gydenals Familieatlas"¹³⁶ (See Appendix 12). It is possible sometimes to find both the Russian (Spitsbergen) and the Norwegian name (Svalbard) at the Norwegian maps at the same time. This is the case, for example, in "Gydenals Store Verdens Atlas"¹³⁷ (See Appendix 24).

However, Russian contemporary map-makers perseveringly continue to use the Russian name "Spitsbergen" to designate this island. There are five maps on which this island is represented in Russian atlas "The World Atlas"¹³⁸. There are the following maps: "Russia and the adjacent states "(See Appendix 3)," Norway, Sweden, Finland and Denmark" (See Appendix 6), "Asia" (See Appendix 7), "the North America"(See Appendix 9) and "Arctic regions" (See Appendix 10). And on all five maps the island is

¹³⁵ "Gydenals Store Verdens Atlas", op. cit., p. 51.

¹³⁶ "Gydenals Familieatlas", op. cit., p. 2-3.

¹³⁷ "Gydenals Store Verdens Atlas", op. cit., p. 65.

¹³⁸ Atlas Mira (Russian Atlas of the World), op. cit., p. 6-7, p. 26-27, p. 40-41, p. 68-69, p.78.

called “Spitsbergen”, there is no mentions about “Svalbard”. Fortunately, on all Russian maps it is noticed that the island belongs to Norway, however, for its designation the Russian name is used. Probably, it is connected with desire to underline the links of Russia with this territory and claims for this territory and that earlier this territory was in the general using of two states. It is obvious, that loss of rights to this territory has been apprehended painfully by Russian consciousness. For Russian perceptions and consciousness, this island is still Spitsbergen. At first sight, it seems that Russian and Norwegians speak about two different islands.

Secondly, the location of Svalbard island in space essentially different on Russian and Norwegian maps, too which highlights the importance of projections in the practices of “mapping the world”¹³⁹. The Norwegian maps depict island as a little bit compressed, reduced. For example, in “Gyldendals Store Verdens Atlas”¹⁴⁰ (See Appendices 22, 23) and in “Gyldendals Familieatlas”¹⁴¹ (See Appendices 11, 12). I have not found any similar information in Russian maps. The use of such a projection can be interpreted as the Norwegians’ attempt to underline the closeness of the island to Norway and to diminish the territorial acquisitions, as Norway possesses the sovereignty right over this territory.

However, Spitsbergen was always important for Russia. Spitsbergen has rich mineral recourses and important geographical position. The archipelago is located in area of the important sea trading routes and intensive fishery.

Given that Spitsbergen is closely located to Russia and Norway, it was mainly settled by people of these states. As scientists suppose the settlement of Spitsbergen archipelago and Bear island has begun in 11–12th centuries by Russian coast-dwellers who used the territory of the archipelago and its coastal waters for hunting of fur and sea animals as well as for fishing. The question on the international legal status of Spitsbergen was solved between Russia and Sweden-Norway and was defined first as a “terra nullius” (land belonging to no one) as a result of an exchange of notes between the governments of two states in 1871-1872. In fact before acceptance of the Treaty of Spitsbergen 1920 this territory was in the common using of two states. Historically it was expressed in the international practice of peace economic and scientific use of Spitsbergen.¹⁴²

The role of Russia in resolving questions concerning the definition of the international legal status of Spitsbergen was special. Any of questions could not be

¹³⁹ Campbell D., op. cit., p. 204.

¹⁴⁰ “Gyldendals Store Verdens Atlas”, op. cit., p. 50-51, p. 52-53.

¹⁴¹ “Gyldendals Familieatlas”, Gyldendal, op. cit., p. 2-3.

¹⁴² Kovalev A. A. *Sovremennoe mezhdunarodnoe morskoe pravo i practica ego primeneniya* (The modern international maritime law and practice of it’s implementation.), Moscow, p. 223.

resolved definitively without participation of Russia and its assignee - the Soviet state. Russia was not invited to the Paris peace conference and did not participate in signing of the Treaty of Spitsbergen 1920 that became a shock for the Soviet Russia. However the government of the USSR acknowledged the sovereignty of Norway over Spitsbergen on February, 16th 1924. USSR proposed to join the Treaty of Spitsbergen by the note from April, 18th 1925 and realized this decision in 1935. However, in 1944 Soviet Union has suggested Norway to change status of Svalbard, has demanded to remise Bear island under its jurisdiction and has suggested to exercise a common control of Norway and the USSR under this territory under terms of condominium. Norway has rejected its offer after its careful examination, and Soviet Union later did not repeat similar offers.¹⁴³

On the one hand, the Treaty acknowledged “the full and absolute sovereignty” Norway over Spitsbergen (covenant 1), on the other hand, this sovereignty was limited to variety of serious conditions, including granting to citizens of the countries-participants of the right “an equal free entrance to archipelago and possibilities of farm management and economic activities “on the terms of full equality “(covenants 2, 3). Besides, Treaty was given to archipelago, in fact, by the demilitarized status (covenant 9).

Thus, the Treaty of Spitsbergen has established a unique legal regime in world practice of extensive territory of archipelago.

The Russian side made the statement for non-recognition of some Norwegian instructions about nature protection measures, reconnaissance and drilling on oil, archaeological researches as economic on restriction economic and other activity on archipelago. Russia has disagreed with an establishment of 200-mile “fishery conservation” zones round Spitsbergen in 1977, precept in this area of national regulations of fishery as with the action contradicting to agreement 1920.¹⁴⁴

Historically Spitsbergen and Bear island, and also adjoining sea water areas traditionally are objects of special interest of Russia and Norway as main coastal continental states of this region. This special interest (economic, political, strategic interest) is reflected not only in intensive cooperation with each other and aspiration to protect this region from intervention and excessive influence of the third countries, but also in disputes and a competition between both countries.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ URL: www.law.edu.ru/article/article.asp?articleID=156653

¹⁴⁴ Kovalev A. A., op. cit., p. 220.

¹⁴⁵ URL: www.law.edu.ru/article/article.asp?articleID=156653

Norway has no any other rights for possession of Spitsbergen except the Paris Agreement. It follows from that the violation of treaty leads to discredit to the right of possession and management of archipelago by Norway.

Consequently, Spitsbergen has the status of a completely demilitarized and neutralized territory. As S.A. Malinin, notes “full demilitarization, naturally leads to the deatomization of zones, i.e. to a complete elimination of deployment of the nuclear weapon on this territory. Consequently, it is necessary to consider such zones as, for example, the Aland islands, some islands of Mediterranean sea, archipelago Spitsbergen, Antarctic in which common demilitarization is declared as denuclearized zones”.¹⁴⁶ According to the Treaty the international legal status of Spitsbergen assumes also freedom of archipelago from other types of weapon of mass destruction. Unlike the Project of the Spitsbergen Convention 1914. The Treaty of Spitsbergen 1920 does not provide acts of a collective guarantee of a regime of demilitarization and neutralization of archipelago.¹⁶

Before the formation of NATO, Soviet Union warned Norway about the true purposes of the Atlantic union and underlined that the entry of Norway in this block will become a destabilizing factor for the North of Europe (note from January 29, 1949). By the note of February 1, 1949 the Norwegian government has assured the Soviet party that will never pursue a policy with the aggressive purposes and Norway will not permit deployment of foreign military bases and the nuclear weapon on archipelago in peace time. In April, 1949 Norway has entered in NATO. Joining of territory of Spitsbergen in this zone that is underlined in the resolution of Norwegian Stortinget on January 19, 1951 becomes a consequent of this fact. Critical reaction of Soviet Union to these actions has followed after these events and became a consequence of there actions. Such actions of the Norwegian Government are in contradiction with the multilateral Paris Treaty of Spitsbergen from February, 9th 1920.¹⁴⁷

As regards the obligation of Norway under the North Atlantic Pact, according the article 8 “each Contracting party declares that any of the international agreements operating now between it and any other parties or any third state, does not contradict to this contract”.¹⁴⁸ Hence, the North Atlantic Pact does not cancel and cannot cancel earlier concluded treaties, and the parties have not rights to contradict to them and vindicate their actions with references to the obligations following from membership in NATO.

¹⁴⁶ Mezhdunarodnoe pravo (International law), Editor-Tunkin G. I., Moscow, 1982, p. 319.

¹⁴⁷ URL: www.law.edu.ru/article/article.asp?articleID=156653

¹⁴⁸ Treaty of Spitsbergen from February, 9th 1920

For this reason joining of Spitsbergen in a sphere of command of North Atlantic sea area can be considered as the violation of the Treaty of Spitsbergen.

Thus, a question on Spitsbergen is a “standing dish” of the Russian-Norwegian negotiations and contacts at high level. From time to time it becomes escalated; from time to time this question becomes a non-essential. The main success of the Russian policy during the last years is arguably the fixation in the joint statement of the President of the Russian Federation and the Prime minister of Norway from 12 November 2002 of case that “the Norwegian party acclaims the continuation Russian economic activities on Spitsbergen as a natural and important part of the general activity on archipelago, and also new kinds of such activity”^{149, 150}.

At the moment Russia has significant economic interests on archipelago which are recognized by Norway. Among all the participants of the Treaty of Spitsbergen only Russia has a consulate in the archipelago (in a small town of Barentsburg). Thus, Russia, of course, cannot be indifferent to developments in this region, and is interested in maintaining there the international legal regime based on peace and multifaceted cooperation of the states. This situation is reflected in Russian and Norwegian maps, in the way in which geographical objects are named and in the way in which specific projections are used. According these maps each state tries to underline the links with this territory and undermine links with other state.

3.5 High interest to Arctic region

Both in Norwegian, and in Russian atlases it is possible to find separate, detailed maps of Arctic regions. For example, a map of Arctic regions in “Gyldendals Familieatlas”¹⁵¹ (See Appendix 13), a map of Arctic ocean in “Gyldendals Store Verdens Atlas”¹⁵² and a map of Arctic regions in the Russian Atlas of the World.¹⁵³ (See Appendix 10). It speaks for the intense interest to this region. Many states are very much aware the importance of this region and perceptivity of its development. Thus, in connection with global warming, new opportunities are opened up for extraction of commercial minerals and appearance of new transport routs in Arctic regions.

¹⁴⁹ Treaty of Spitsbergen from February, 9th 1920

¹⁵⁰ Kvicunskij Y. A, Shtodina I. Y. K voprosu o mezhdunarodno-pravovom rezhime arhipelaga Spitsbergen I prilgayushix vod (The issue of international legal regime of Spitsbergen and coastal waters).

URL: <http://www.pvlast.ru/archive/index.383.php>

¹⁵¹ “Gyldendals Familieatlas”, op. cit., 2001, p. 4.

¹⁵² “Gyldendals Store Verdens Atlas”, op. cit., p. 64.

¹⁵³ Atlas Mira (Russian Atlas of the World), op. cit., p. 78.

While Arctic regions is not at all the best place to live for people, this region has huge opportunities when it comes to their use for transport purposes. This region keeps a huge reserve of energy and other natural resources. However, Arctic region depends on environment and climate of and on the natural phenomena occurring in this region. Besides, in the 20th century, especially in its second half, strategic and geopolitical value of the region has grown.

As argued by Odd Roger Enoksen, Minister of Petroleum and energy industry of Norway, “the richest oil and gas resources of Arctic regions is the major source for world energy, but their development should not harm to the Arctic nature and should not enforce a problem of greenhouse gases.”¹⁵⁴ There are estimated oil reserves in Barents Sea of 6 billion barrels of oil.

According to the estimations of Geological service of the USA, 25 percent of the world’s undiscovered oil and gas reserves are located in Arctic regions. In result, it becomes the important element of the resolving of mounting world energy needs.¹⁵⁵

Appearances of new political documents that are connected with Arctic regions also speak for the increased value of this region.

For example, in the document “*Osnovy gosudarstvennoi politiki Rossiiskoi Federatsii v Arktike na period do 2020 goda i dalneishuiu perspektivu*” (“The fundamentals of state policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic in the period up to 2020 and beyond”) defines main purposes and priorities of a policy of the Russian Federation in Arctic regions as the following in various spheres:

1. Social and economic development: “enlargement of resource potential of the Arctic region of the Russian Federation capable substantially to provide requirement of Russia in hydrocarbon resources, water biological resources and other kinds of strategical materials”¹⁵⁶. This article confirms again a very important significance of Arctic regions as resource base.
2. Military security: “protection of frontier of the Russian Federation running in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, - providing of a favorable operative regime in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, including maintenance of necessary fighting potential of groupings of armies (forces) of a general purpose of Armed forces of the Russian

¹⁵⁴ Energy resources of Arctic play a key role.2007-01-24. <http://www.barentsobserver.com/cppage.424602-16149.html>

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ “*Osnovy gosudarstvennoi politiki Rossiiskoi Federatsii v Arktike na period do 2020 goda i dalneishuiu perspektivu*” (“The fundamentals of state policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic in the period up to 2020 and beyond”

Federation, other armies, military formations and bodies in this region¹⁵⁷. This point of the document especially created waves.

3. Environmental safety: “preservation and maintenance of protection of an environment of Arctic regions, liquidation of ecological consequences of economic activities in the conditions of increasing economic activity and global changes of a climate”¹⁵⁸. Common actions of all subarctic states are necessary for realization of environmental safety in practice.

4. Information technologies: “formation of common information space of the Russian Federation in its Arctic zone taking into account natural features”. In my opinion, this point will be draw out to great length in time during its realization in practice.

5. Science and technologies: “maintenance of sufficient level of fundamental and applied scientific researches on accumulation of knowledge and creation of modern scientific and geoinformation bases of management by the Arctic territories, including working out of means for the decision of problems of defence and safety, and also reliable functioning of life-support systems and industrial activity in prirodno-climatic conditions of Arctic regions”.¹⁵⁹ One of the most important points, in my opinion. Arctic regions is a region still a little studied and demanding special knowledge owing to fragility of northern climate and natural balance.

6. The International cooperation “maintenance of regime of mutually advantageous bilateral and multilateral cooperation of the Russian Federation with the subarctic states on the basis of the international contracts and the agreements which participant is the Russian Federation”¹⁶⁰.

Thus, the Arctic region is a complex regional system in which interests of many states intersect, especially five subarctic states: Russia, the USA, Canada, Denmark, Norway. The steadfast attention connected with the given region has especially increased recently which is testified both Russian, and the Norwegian maps analysed above.

3.6 Polar boundaries according to the sector division of Arctic

Especially interesting phenomenon can be noted in the Russian maps. The Russian cartographers in all maps designate the borders of the polar possessions of Russia. For example, the Russian “Atlas of the World”. There is a special symbol of borders of polar

¹⁵⁷ “Osnovy gosudarstvennoi politiki Rossiiskoi Federatsii v Arktike na period do 2020 goda i dalneishuiu perspektivu”, op. cit.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

possession of Russia in Legend of this Atlas.¹⁶¹ (See Appendix 8). In this atlas, there are six maps on which I have found borders of polar possession of Russia.¹⁶² (See Appendices 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10). Thus, the borders of Russia's polar possessions are designated on Russian maps everywhere where there is a possibility for it. This border stretches out from Cape of Dezhnev to the Russian-Norwegian border. Who delineated these borders and why these borders exist only on the Russian maps? It remains an open question. It is, however, possible to say that this probably demonstrates the existing of remnants of sector division or "theory of sectors" of Arctic regions in consciousness of many Russians.

According to "the theory of sectors" each subarctic state possesses the special rights in the polar sector - a triangle the basis of which is the coast of the corresponding state, and the parties - the lines which are passing on meridians to the North Pole. Canada strongly advocates the sectoral division of Arctic regions. In a number of acts in the 20th century and official statements it has defended the sovereignty on the earths, islands and even sea spaces to the north from the Canadian coast.¹⁶³

Russia and the Soviet Union too took measures on protection of the legitimate interests in Arctic regions. The note of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Russia in 1916, and subsequently in the memorandum of the Soviet government of 1925, declared the inclusion in the structure of Russia of all earths which are continuation on the north of the Siberian continental plateau. The Regulation of Presidium of the Central Executive Committee and SNK of USSR 1926: "About the announcement of territory between meridians 32 04 35 east longitudes and 168 49 30 western longitudes and earths and islands which are located in Arctic ocean as discovered, and yet not discovered that was proclaimed as territory of the USSR".¹⁶⁴ The exception has been made only for eastern islands of archipelago Spitsbergen which according to the Treaty of Paris has been transferred in 1920 to Norway. The contract obliges Norway not to create and not to suppose creation of any sea base, not to build any strengthening in the same districts which "should be never used in the military purposes".¹⁶⁵

Other three subarctic states have not established own sectors and have not supported sectoral division of Arctic regions as a whole. Thus, the Russian maps even now show the presence of and importance accorded to the sector division of Arctic regions in

¹⁶¹ Atlas Mira (Russian Atlas of the World), op. cit., p. 80

¹⁶² Atlas Mira (Russian Atlas of the World), op. cit., p. 4-5, p. 6-7, p. 8-9, p. 25, p. 40-41, p. 78

¹⁶³ Teoriya i praktika morskoy deyatel'nosti. Moskva, 2004

URL: http://www.morskayakollegiya.ru/publikacii/nauchnye_trudy/arhiv/20090318042609-5195.pdf

¹⁶⁴ Gaculyak V. N. Morskoe pravo, Moskva, 2000, p. 107

¹⁶⁵ Buromenskij M. V., Timchenko L. D. Mezhdunarodno-pravovoj status Spitsbergena, URL: <http://law.edu.ru/article/article.asp?articleID=156653>

the Russian consciousness. In the Norwegian maps, however, the division of Arctic regions into sectors is absent.

Chapter Four: Conclusions from Analysis

At the coast of Arctic ocean there are five countries: the Russian Federation, the USA (Alaska), Canada, Denmark (Greenland) and Norway. They are all in a position to get a huge share of the Arctic resources and struggle to get international support from the United Nations, the other Arctic countries and other great power nations.

Indeed, the Arctic has central elements which keep the region on the agenda for many years to come. Central elements are:

- 1) Enormous oil and gas resources. We can expect more exploration and production and the region will get more and more important as energy supplier for the world.
- 2) The Arctic has a very central geopolitical position. The Russian North Fleet has their head quarter at the Arctic coast, and it is Russia's largest seaport. The fact is bringing a military attention from other countries as well.
- 3) Some of the world fisheries are in the Arctic. The resources are limited and it requires limited use. Therefore Norway and Russia has common management of the fishery resources.
- 4) Industrial transport might develop in bigger scale because of the ice melting in the Arctic. More attention will be attracted to the area because of this. Security and environmental protection are some keywords in this issue.
- 5) Environmental issues are on the agenda already. The Arctic is an important area for studies of climate changes in the world, the Arctic is very vulnerable and ice melting can effect on the weather and climate in the world for generations to come.

Due to these developments, debates over the territorialization of the Arctic have intensified recently.

This thesis has focused on two Arctic states, Norway and Russia, which have definitely different approaches to the territorialization of geopolitical space in the Arctic. The analysis has shown that there are differences in the analysed Russian and Norwegian maps. We can say that they are looking at the same world in a different way.

The colors have their own psychology, with symbols and colors that can make an influence. The maps from the analysed countries are made in a different way. For example a small country is focusing on the bigger neighbor, but the larger country does not play so

much attention on the smaller one. Historical discourses play a role in the maps: According to Norwegian maps Russia is mostly an Asian country, and often divided with separate colors. This representation is linked to the historical Russian debate, which indicates three major positions; an European, an Asian and one in the middle. In the Russian maps, however, the country's Europeanness is more clearly highlighted.

The issue of the location of the Svalbard island is another indication of the different geopolitical positions, and a source of historical disputes. Norwegian and Russian maps use different projections to map the island. This reflects the fact that even if the island is Norwegian territory, Russia has the right to use the area for industrial purposes because of the Treaty of Spitsbergen.

Chapter Five: Ending

5.1 Summary

The master's thesis is about Russian and Norwegian approaches to territorialization of geopolitical space in the Arctic. The introduction indicated how important the region is because of enormous natural resources and geopolitical location, and this is an explanation of the increased attention from the international community.

In Chapter One I described borders and territorialization as concepts in international relations as a discipline. The theory of the border research called limnology - one of the directions of political geography – was introduced. Limnologists emphasize the fact that there are different types of boundaries: land frontier, river, lake, maritime and air boundaries. Borders were defined as dividing lines and social constructions due to which poststructuralism and constructivism were introduced.

In chapter two, I proposed that the cartographical method provides a pertinent research method for an analysis of maps as it illustrates the limitations and demarcations of borders, objects and transport routes in the Arctic. Political maps reflect the main political and geographical changes like the formation of new independent states and sovereignty of territories. These issues may definitely be on the agenda in the Arctic in the future.

My analysis of Russian and Norwegian maps of the Arctic disclosed interesting differences and similarities. Use of approximately similar colors on Norwegian and Russian maps is one element. The Russian Federation, as a “big neighbor”, gets more attention on the Norwegian map than Norway on the Russian where the Nordic countries are often represented in one single map and not divided into separate countries. Russia has huge attention for itself on different maps. Another interesting finding is the fact that Russia is more connected to Europe on Russian than Norwegian maps. The debate over where Russia belongs is still going on in academic and cultural life. The location of the Svalbard island (Spitsbergen) indicates different geopolitical interests between the two countries and the island is more close to Norway in Norwegian maps, and vice versa and highlights the importance of projections in “mapping the world”. The dispute about rights for resources is still on the agenda. In both Norwegian and Russian maps the interest to the Arctic region is high and many states are aware the importance of the region and perspectives for development. Russia is focusing of the sector division of the Arctic in different maps.

The thesis concludes that the Arctic has central elements which make the region at the agenda for many years to come. Enormous oil and gas resources, the central geopolitical position, the rich fisheries, the potential for new transport routes and

environmental issues will be more and more interesting in the future, from ice melting to effects of pollution.

5.2 Russian–Norwegian perspectives for the Arctic

The thesis has indicated that there are differences in the Russian and Norwegian perceptions of the territorialization of the Arctic. For one thing, the boundary between the Russian Federation and Norway in the Barents Sea has not been clarified. The disagreement has its origin in the Russian sector line claim and the Norwegian requirement for the middle line.¹⁶⁶ Between the two positions, it is a disputed area. The two states have through negotiations in 35 years reached an agreement of around 80 percent of the area. Still the negotiations continue for the last 20 percent. International law and international policy have been elements of the negotiations between the Russian Federation and Norway during all the years.

The formal negotiations have been running since 1974 without the parties reaching a final solution. Norway, at one side always expressed a need for a final sharing¹⁶⁷, despite statements that it does not necessarily urgent. The Russians, however, expressed preferences for joint exploitation and management of resources in the area, possible even before a border exists.

During the Cold War the conditions for finding an agreement was not the easiest. In such an important geopolitical region big power nations have their interests. Discussions about a dividing line can be difficult for the parties because of “the harsh political climate of the North.”¹⁶⁸

Maybe there are security, political and economic reasons that prevent a final solution between the Russian Federation and Norway in the disputed area. Uncertainty about the petroleum resources is perhaps the most important factor, but also the fishery resources can affect. In addition, the Russian Federation has various military installations in the area, and a dividing line can affect the country’s naval operations.

Another possible reason for the lack of progress is the parties’ fear that the solution may form a precedent for other border disputes, especially for the Russian Federation

¹⁶⁶ Prydz Y. En grenselinje til besvaer? Hvorfor 33 års forhandlinger om en delelinje i Barentshavet ikke er avsluttet. Masteroppgave ved Institutt for Statsvitenskap (A boulder of trouble? Why 33 years of negotiations on a dividing line in the Barents Sea has not been completed. Master thesis from the Institute of Political Science. University of Oslo. Original title), Universitetet i Oslo, 2007, p. 7.

¹⁶⁷ Elferink A. G. O. The law of maritime boundary delimitation: a case study of the Russian Federation. Dordrecht. Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1994, p. 241.

¹⁶⁸ Tunander O. Inventing the Barents Region: Overcoming the East-West Divide”. Chapter 4 in O.S. Stokke and O. Tunander (editors): The Barents Region. Cooperation in Arctic Europe. London: Sage Publications, 1994, p.32.

which has unresolved boundaries for example with Romania, Japan and the countries around the Caspian Sea. The Russians might fear that a compromise solution in the Barents Sea will weaken their positions in other negotiations, and the Norwegian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Jonas Gahr Støre, has suggested that the Russians have difficulties to determine a final border with Norway¹⁶⁹.

From the Russian side, various forms of common control over the disputed area between Norway and the Russian Federation were proposed early in the negotiations. It is conceivable that either Russia has such a solution as the primary interest in the negotiations or it is used as a strategy to bring the process out in a longer perspective.

The countries are considering and expounding the Law of the Sea in different directions and have different legal requirements. Norway has put forward the technical-legal approach in the negotiations. Soviet Union/The Russian Federation has however linked the delimitation and the expounding of the Law of the Sea to politics¹⁷⁰.

The boundary negotiations between Russia and Norway have taken very long time – 35 years. Both countries have definitely not rushed into any unwanted solutions. The Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Jonas Gahr Støre has said in the Norwegian News Agency, 2005:

It is not primarily Norway and Russia which are in a hurry to set the final boundary in the sea, but rather those who looking towards the Barents Sea for their energy supplies.¹⁷¹

The Russian Federation is in no hurry either and we can predict that an agreement is not within the nearest future. However, one issue which definitely is sure in the future is that the Arctic will be an area of huge interest, and this will not be limited only for Russia and Norway, but also for the whole world.

All this indicates that in the development of the Arctic we can expect that the states positioning can lead upon two developing lines:

1) More conflicts in the Arctic

¹⁶⁹ Dagens Naeringsliv (Norwegian newspaper) 2006 (15 March): "Gray solution worse for the Russians"

¹⁷⁰ Kvalvik I. Asymmetriske maktrelasjoner i bilaterale forhandlinger. En studie av forhandlingene mellom Norge og Sovjetunionen/Russland om avgrensingen av kontinentalsokkelen og økonomiske soner i Barentshavet. Universitetet i Tromsø. Hovedfagsoppgave i statsvitenskap (Asymmetric power relations in bilateral negotiations. A study of the negotiations between Norway and the Soviet Union /The Russian Federation on delimitation of the continental shelf and economic zones in the Barents Sea. University of Tromsø. Master thesis in Political Science), 2000, p. 86.

¹⁷¹ Norwegian News Agency, 2005

2) More collaboration in the Arctic

With unclear boundaries the conflict potential is huge. What will happen if oil and gas resources are located in disputed areas? If the parties are not polite and gentle and avoid taking advantage of the situation the political climate can continue to be calm. But if a nation starts drilling an export from such area, other nations can be forced to take actions to defend their self interest and show for the world that they must be respected a stake holder. Nations can also be forced to defend their countrymen working in fisheries or transport/shipping industry. Cargo lines must be open and work efficient.

The conflicts does not necessary be of military direction. Economic investments can bring conflicts as well. Which country shall invest for example in transport infrastructure other nations might be using? Oil and gas pipelines is another hot topic, which we know from the Russian – Ukrainian relation.

Finally military conflicts are always on the agenda in the Arctic. With Russia's huge fleet and their military installations the conflict potential are present. With increased activities in the Arctic is it possible that other nations must also be present in a military way.

However, more collaboration in the Arctic is likely to be the main developing direction. Oil and gas projects are one example. Russia need international technology and experience for starting industrial oil and gas projects. An example is the joint developing activities from Russian Gazprom, the French company Total and the Norwegian company StatoilHydro. If Russia not take international technology in use, the project can be delayed, be much more expensive and less efficient.

With less cooperation of fishery resource management the consequences are within a very few year, less resources. This will hit the industry and export for all the Arctic countries hard, especially Russia and Norway.

Environmental monitoring, research collaboration, and common projects are also important when it come to strengthening ties between nations. Norway and Russia are working together in all these sectors.

Educational cooperation in Europe is in a fast development. Research activities and joint degrees between Russian and universities in Europe and North America are becoming more and more common.

A broader contact within industrial productions, investments and trade operations between Russian and Norwegian small and medium sized enterprises is also getting more important in the future.

Finally culture and people-to-people relations are strengthening day by day in the Arctic region. Between Russia and Norway we can find a huge number of these activities.

5.3 What can be learned? Some policy recommendations.

We can learn that boundaries are a challenging theme and different approaches must be used to give academic answers to controversial international relations' issues. A huge set of techniques and methods are required.

Furthermore, Russia and Norway in the development of the Arctic is a very broad subject. This master's thesis has only been able to touch a selected few aspects of the countries' policy in the Arctic. A lot of research are needed to be done for improve our understanding. Interesting issues can be connected to:

- 1) Geopolitics and security policy
- 2) Oil and gas resources
- 3) Fisheries
- 4) Transport
- 5) Environmental issues – both effects of global melting and the Arctic answer on global issues
- 6) International boundaries
- 7) Great power nations' moves following their interests
- 8) United Nations' skill to find embedded and peace keeping solutions for the world

This master's thesis has indicated a growing interest in the Arctic the background of which is in the area's enormous resources of oil and energy. It is also one of the world's richest fisheries, minerals and the potential for new and more cost-effective transport routes between Asia and Europe and North America. The area also has an important geopolitical significance in relation to military operations and control of resources and oceans.

Previous studies have shown that the boundaries can be in constant development. This thesis has illustrated that this is also the case in the Arctic. Dividing lines can also serve as social structures; if the citizens of a country consider a particular geographical

area to belong to this country or if the international community either has the same opinion of the case or maybe the complete opposite conclusion. In both situations we have interesting perspectives with potential for conflicts or peaceful collaboration.

It was not claimed in this master's thesis that such symbolic boundary-related structures are being developed in the Arctic. However we can find elements of such steps of action from both the Russian and Norwegian side.

Some time ago, the Russian Navy planted a Russian flag on the seabed of the North Pole, an act which created a huge international attention. Perhaps in addition to admiration of a technology that enabled such a flag planting, this illustrated a concern for the increased voltage because of Russian actions in this important geopolitical area. My assumption is that in the future we can expect more symbolic actions from several of the Arctic countries – and perhaps from other states or different trans-boarder organizations like the United Nations or the European Union.

The European Union will have to devote more attention to the Arctic region. The Union's main industrial countries, like Germany as the largest one, have enormous need for energy supply and secure and predictable supply as well. Today energy from both Norway and Russia are helping to secure European jobs and the EU member's welfare level.

Turning to another example of symbolic acts in the Arctic, there have been a significant numbers of ministers from different European countries visiting the Norwegian oil company StatoilHydro's gas production plant in Hammerfest municipality at the Arctic coast line. The host for all these travelling ministers has been the Norwegian government and this can also be viewed as a symbolic act.

Big countries will have great influence on the development in the Arctic and also for the future boundary solutions. A small country such as Norway must obtain international alliances in order to look after its self-interest. This is the case especially with a great power like the Russian Federation as a neighbor and with the unsolved border issue between the two countries. A strategy for the Norwegian government might be to show the importance of the Arctic and the opportunities for further development in the region. We can expect that Norway, in addition to Russia and the other Arctic countries will perform symbolic actions to highlight their interests and presence in the region.

Geopolitical power sources can be linked to research and knowledge, military presence and the ability to exploit resources. Power and influence can be linked to the different countries activities in the area. The states that use the Arctic will be able to shape the boundaries and content of the rules and regulations within the area. This will probably

evolve gradually, but the presence is of great importance. The various states actions will both shape and institutionalize the boundaries within, and the management of, the Arctic.

Knowledge of developments in the Arctic is an important source of influence in the region, including the relation to geopolitics and power. All the five Arctic countries researchers have devoted huge resources to map the seabed and each country's extended continental shelf. This material is sent to the United Nations committee for borders in the sea. Knowledge is therefore an important driving force in the development of the region. Economy and technological development is an important source of geopolitical power – and will be valid for geopolitics in the Arctic. Having the resources to make technological innovations within the industry such as petroleum is important.

Nevertheless, knowledge in other areas also has great significance. Expertise on climate and environmental changes is something the whole world pay attention to, fisheries and other ocean resources likewise. The state's ability to protect the environment and fishery resources will have a place in the future of the Arctic. Coast guard presence and enforcement of jurisdiction will be significant for the institutionalization of power and influence in the region. Furthermore, equipment and systems for safe shipping operations will be central elements too. Finally, it may also be mentioned that the settlement and general industrial activity will strengthen the nations embedding in the Arctic.

Another developing direction can be the production of new maps of the Arctic with the background in new borders. When the United Nations Committee for Borders at the Sea conclude with more fixed boundaries in the Arctic more new maps must be produced. But it is not very likely that all boundaries in the Arctic will be set at the same period of time. Therefore a parallel developing line can be a possibility for new ways of producing maps which visualize the interests of the different Arctic states.

Timeframe for a final determination of boundaries is currently a bit unclear. Norway and Russia have been negotiating for 35 years about the dividing line between the two states in the Barents Sea. Perhaps the process of the United Nations for establishing the extension of the continental shelf for each country can contribute to a faster pace with the final boundaries of the Arctic?

New technology for production of oil and gas can make projects more profitable and therefore they can be realized in a shorter period of time than otherwise expected. The increased energy demand in the world could lead to pressure for exploration and development for new resources.

Norway and Russia have different approaches for the need for final boundaries in the Arctic. Norway will not have a common administration of resources and has said that a

final dividing line must be set before extensive action for oil and gas will take place. Russia, however, has meant that a possible way is to find solutions that include joint management of resources.

With the five Arctic countries involved it is likely that the process will turn into a direction with fixed boundaries before major resource developing steps will be taken. This is because it is doubtful that either the United States or Canada can accept a common management of resources with the Russian Federation. This can end in a quicker process with final borders and might be an advantage for a small country as Norway which can have difficulties to negotiate with a big neighbor alone.

Following the development in the Arctic can be very interesting in the years to come. States and governments, various organizations, companies in different industrial sectors and researchers are only a few representatives with extra attention of the development of the Arctic. With more activities in the Region we can assume that the next few decades will be more exciting than they which have been.

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08.12.2008

Den nye naboen



Det nye Russland er en uferdig og urolig stormakt. Naboer må være våkne, men også åpne, skriver John O. Egeland.

DEN RUSSISKE bjørnen brummer oftere og høyere enn før, og i Georgia viste den også klørne. Internt pågår en politisk sentraliseringsprosess som har som formål å styrke staten og kontrollen med de store industri- og råvareselskapene. De tidligere ideene om demokrati av vestlig karakter er forlatt. Nå gjelder en russisk modell som stort sett lar enkeltmennesket i fred, men som legger hindringer i veien for all organisert opposisjon. Det demokratiske underskuddet forverres av rettsstatens fravær. Denne modellen er konstruert for å realisere det store, langsiktige målet: Gjenreisningen av Russlands status som stormakt. Ulike forskere peker på at det har resultert i en utenrikspolitikk som er sterkt interessebasert, men uten tydelig ideologisk forankring. Satt på spissen framstår Russland mer og mer som et energiselskap som også er en stat.

UTENRIKSPOLITIKK av denne typen skaper ofte uro fordi den legger mindre vekt på internasjonale organisasjoner og forpliktende avtaler. Russlandsforskeren Helge Blakkisrud peker f.eks. på at det medfører prioritering av kontakten med nøkkelstater og personlige forbindelser til utvalgte nasjonale ledere. Dette er problematisk for Norge som er en småstat med klare interesser av en verden som i størst mulig grad er regulert av internasjonale avtaler og diplomati. Fordi Norge sett fra Russland er en liten og nokså ukomplisert nabo, kan det også være krevende å få stormaktens oppmerksomhet. Jonas Gahr Støres stadige møter med sin russiske kollega, utenriksminister Sergej Lavrov, tar sikte på å motvirke en slik tendens.

DA RUSSLAND for en tid tilbake gjennomførte en militærøvelse hvor det inngikk et fingert angrep på Bodø, gikk det kaldt nedover ryggen på mange politikere og offiserer. Alle kjente et blaff av vindene fra den kalde krigen. Likevel gikk ingen alarmer i regjeringen. Tvert imot ble hendelsen tonet ned og beskrevet som en markering av Russlands økende militære styrke, ikke som en fiendtlig handling. Det som ble demonstrert var nøkkelen til den norske politikken overfor Russland. Den handler om å framstå som en rolig, vennligsinnet nabo som opptre forutsigbart og som respekterer legitime russiske interesser. Langt på vei ønsker Norge å framstå som noe mer enn et NATO-land, altså som en nabo russerne kjenner gjennom tiår med felles forvaltning av fiskeressursene i nord og med lavspenning.



DERFOR DREIER norsk politikk seg om å skape økt tillit og bygge videre på den politiske kapitalen som allerede finnes. Om man ikke ser seg blind på den kalde krigen, er vårt historiske forhold til Russland nokså enestående i sin gjensidige stabilitet. Vi har ikke vært i krig, og Norge har aldri inngått i den russiske interessesfæren. Samtidig har bjørnen en størrelse og en slagkraft som gjør det nyttig å ha flere venner og allierte. Helt siden blokaden under Napoleonskrigene har det vært klart at Norges interesser alltid vil være knyttet til den makt som behersker Atlanterhavet, først Storbritannia og siden USA. Ulikt en del andre stater i Russlands nærhet, har Norge samtidig interesse av et særskilt forhold til Russland. Våre tunge nasjonale interesser knyttet til nordområdenes ressurser, kan ikke beskyttes og utvikles uten et langsiktig og godt forhold til den store naboen.

DETTE INNEBÆRER at norsk politikk overfor Russland har dimensjoner utover NATO-medlemskapet og at vi tidvis framstår annerledes. Den siste tida har vi fått demonstrert at det både innenfor NATO og Norden er skiller i politikken overfor Russland. De baltiske landene, Polen, Tsjekkia og Sverige har f.eks. hatt en langt skarpere tone enn mer pragmatiske land som Tyskland, Finland og Norge. Her ser vi klare spor av både historie og økonomi. Tidligere østblokkland er forståelig nok på tå hev hver gang de hører noe som likner på lyden av raslende sabler.

Norge og Finland er naglet til geografisk posisjoner som tilsier roligere gange, mens Tyskland nå som alltid er avhengig av råvarene østfra. Liknende tendenser ser vi når det gjelder Georgias mulige medlemskap i NATO. Det er helt klart ikke i norsk interesse at NATO bidrar til å øke konfliktpotensialet langs Russlands grenser ved å innlemme Georgia i alliansen.

PROBLEMET MED en norsk tillitskapende politikk overfor Russland er særlig knyttet til den indre politiske utviklingen i det veldige landet. Selv om statsminister Vladimir Putin og president Dmitri Medvedev har overveldende oppslutning på meningsmålingene, utvikler Russland stadig mer autoritære trekk. Her kan det fort bli konflikt med norsk politikk når det gjelder menneskerettighetene.

(John O. Egeland i Dagbladet 8. desember 2008)

Appendix 2. Mir. Politicheskaya karta.



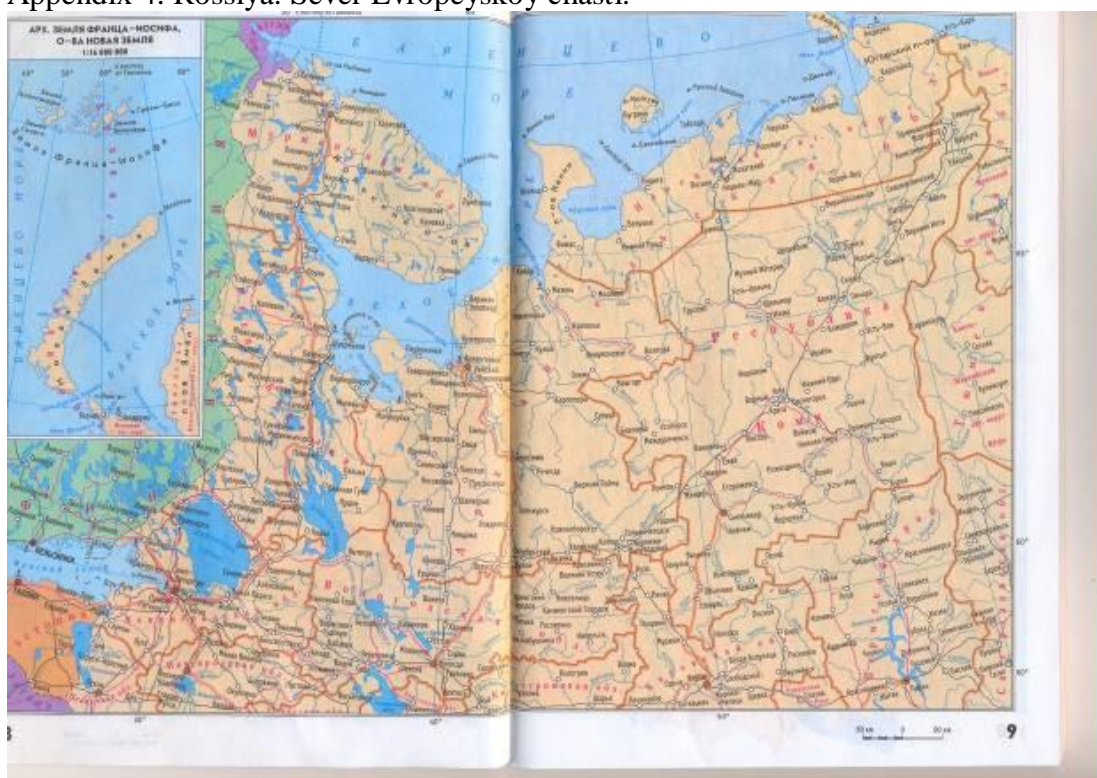
Source: Atlas Mira (Russian Atlas of the World), Moscow, BELLISI, Astrel', AST, 2008, p. 4-5.

Appendix 3. Rossiya i sopredel'nye gosudarstva.



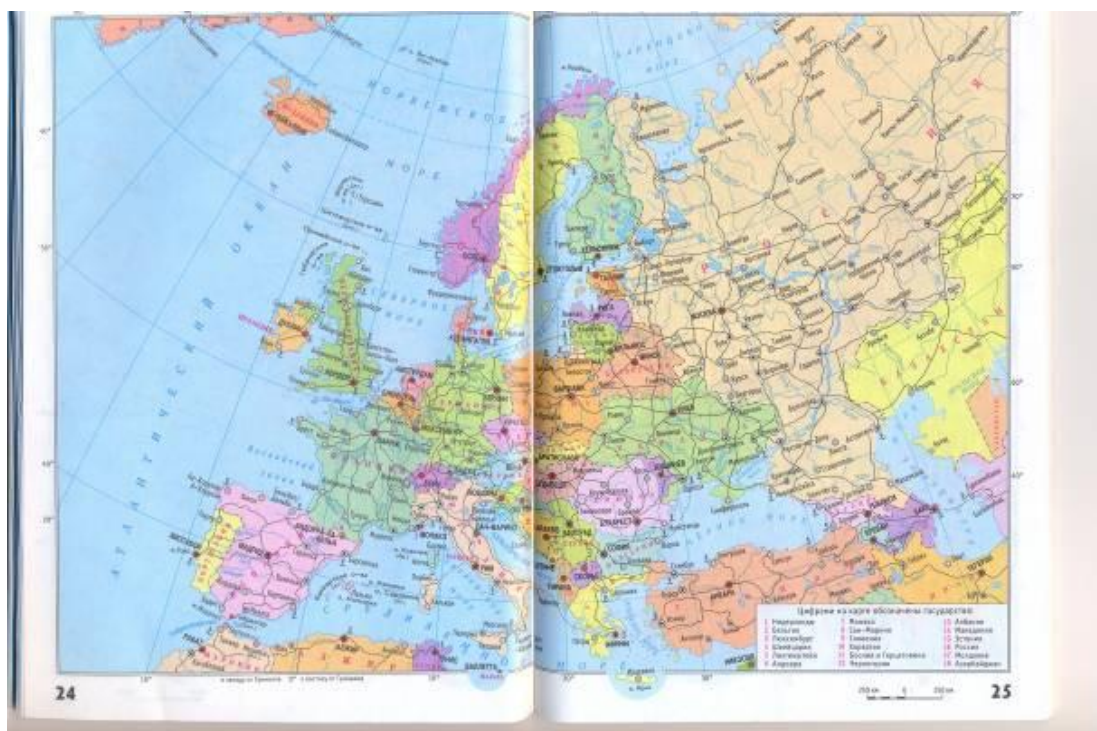
Source: Atlas Mira (Russian Atlas of the World), Moscow, BELLISI, Astrel', AST, 2008, p. 6-7.

Appendix 4. Rossiya. Sever Evropeyskoy chasti.



Source: Atlas Mira (Russian Atlas of the World), Moscow, BELLISI, Astrel', AST, 2008, p. 8-9.

Appendix 5. Evropa.



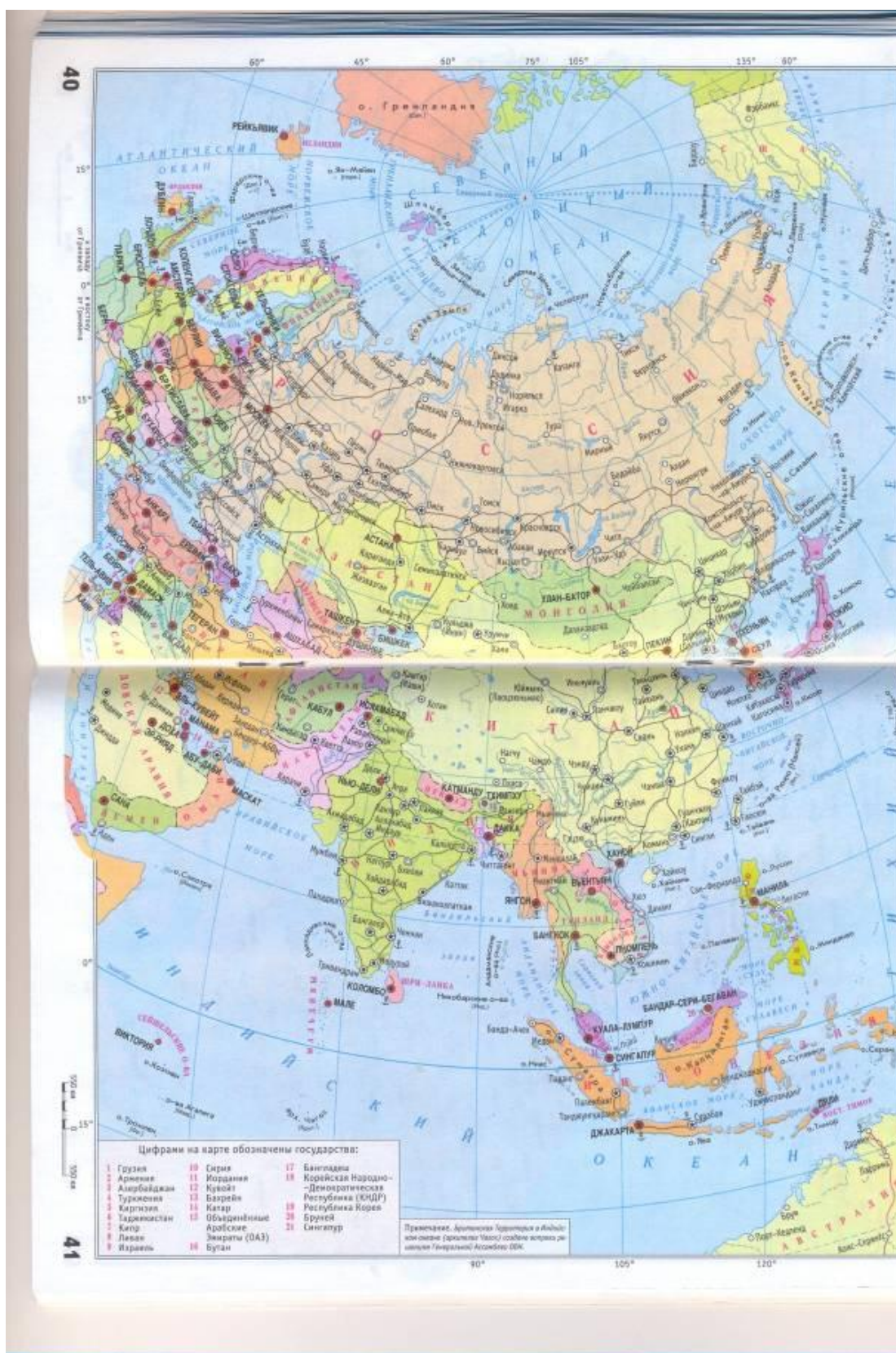
Source: Atlas Mira (Russian World Atlas), Moscow, BELLISI, Astrel', AST, 2008, p. 24-25.

Appendix 6. Norvegiya, Shveciya, Finlyandiya, Daniya.

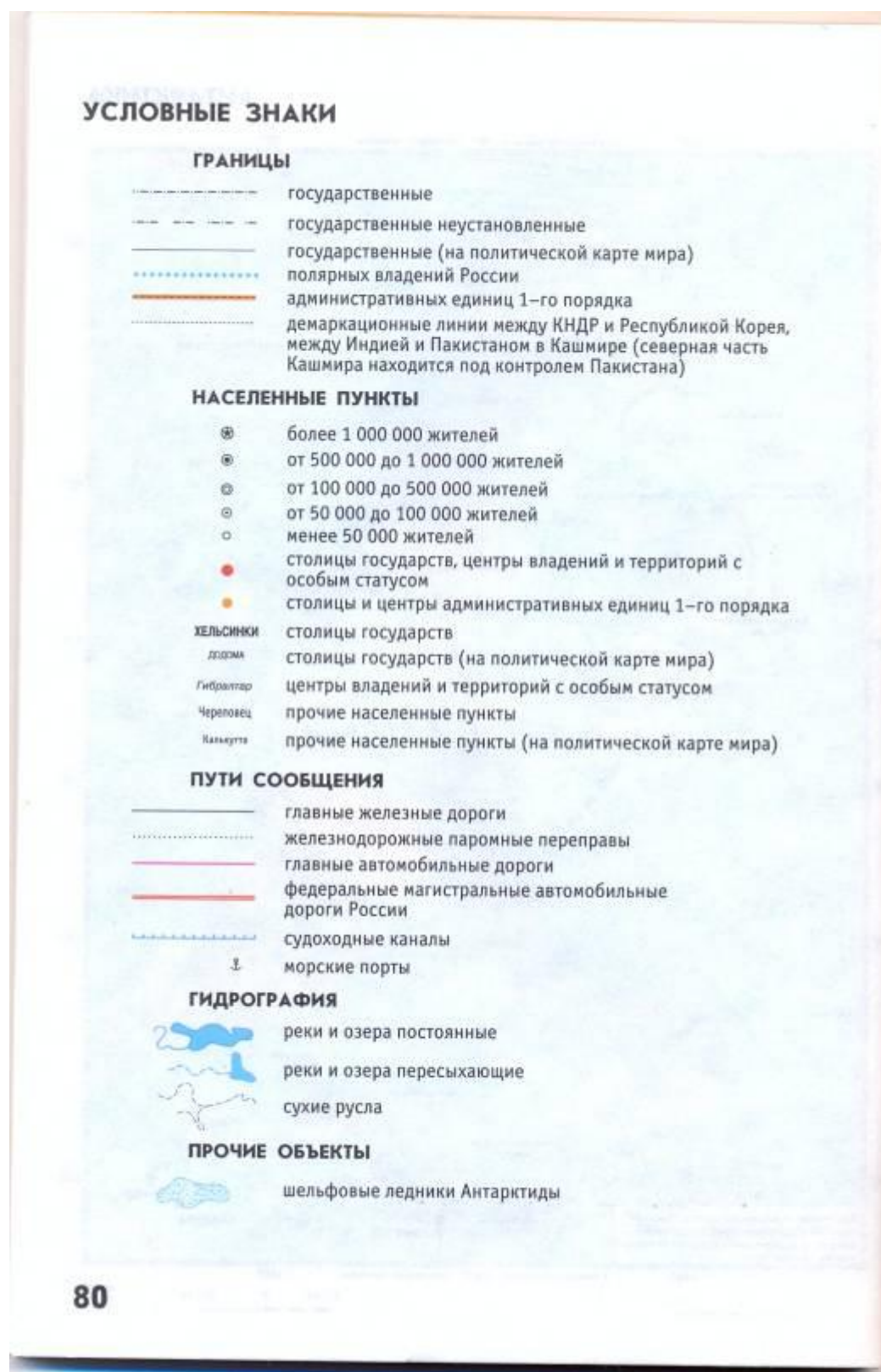


Source: Atlas Mira (Russian Atlas of the World), Moscow, BELLISI, Astrel', AST, 2008, p. 26-27.

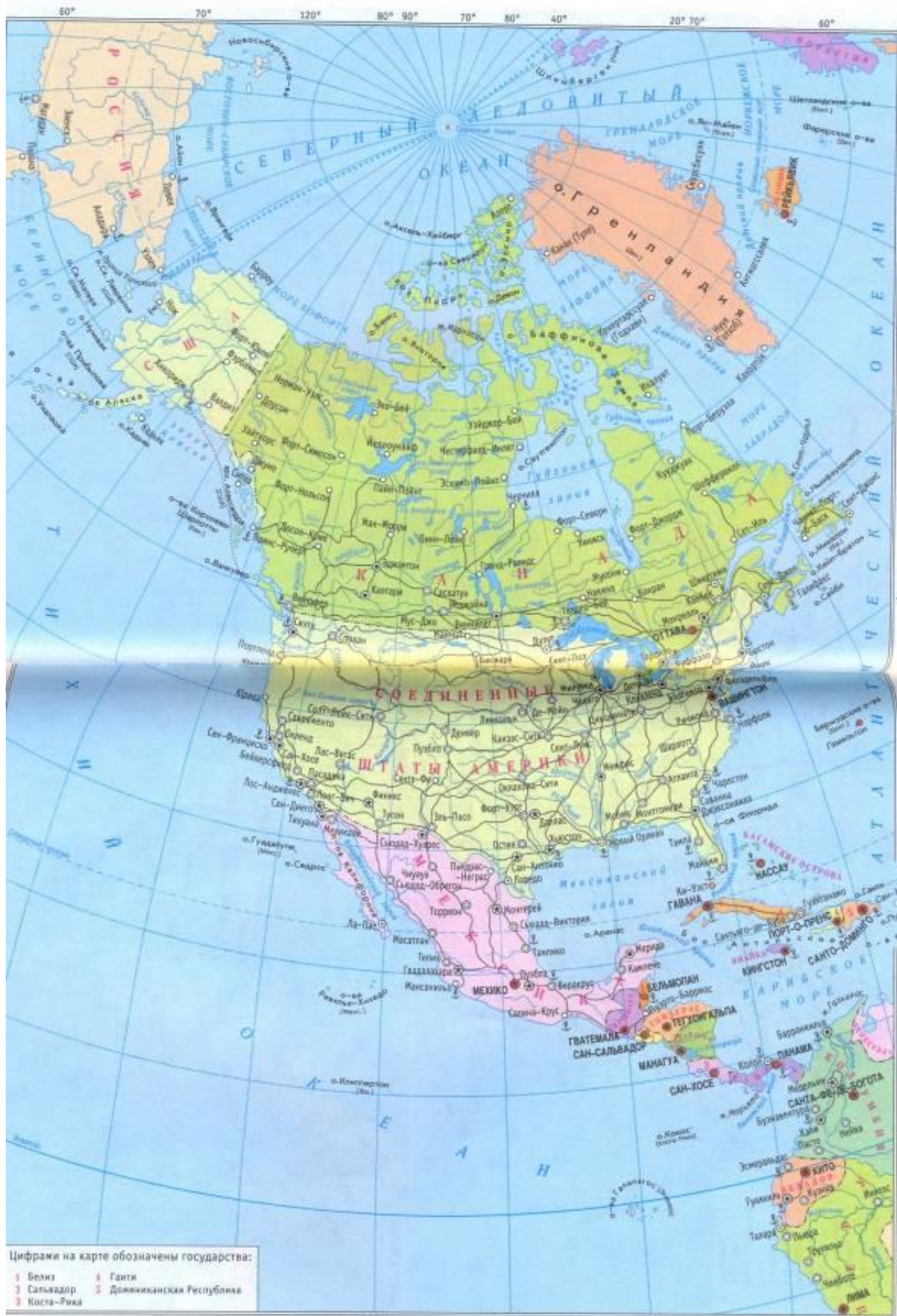
Appendix 7.Aziya.



Source: Atlas Mira (Russian Atlas of the World), Moscow, BELLISI, Astrel', AST, 2008, p. 40-41.

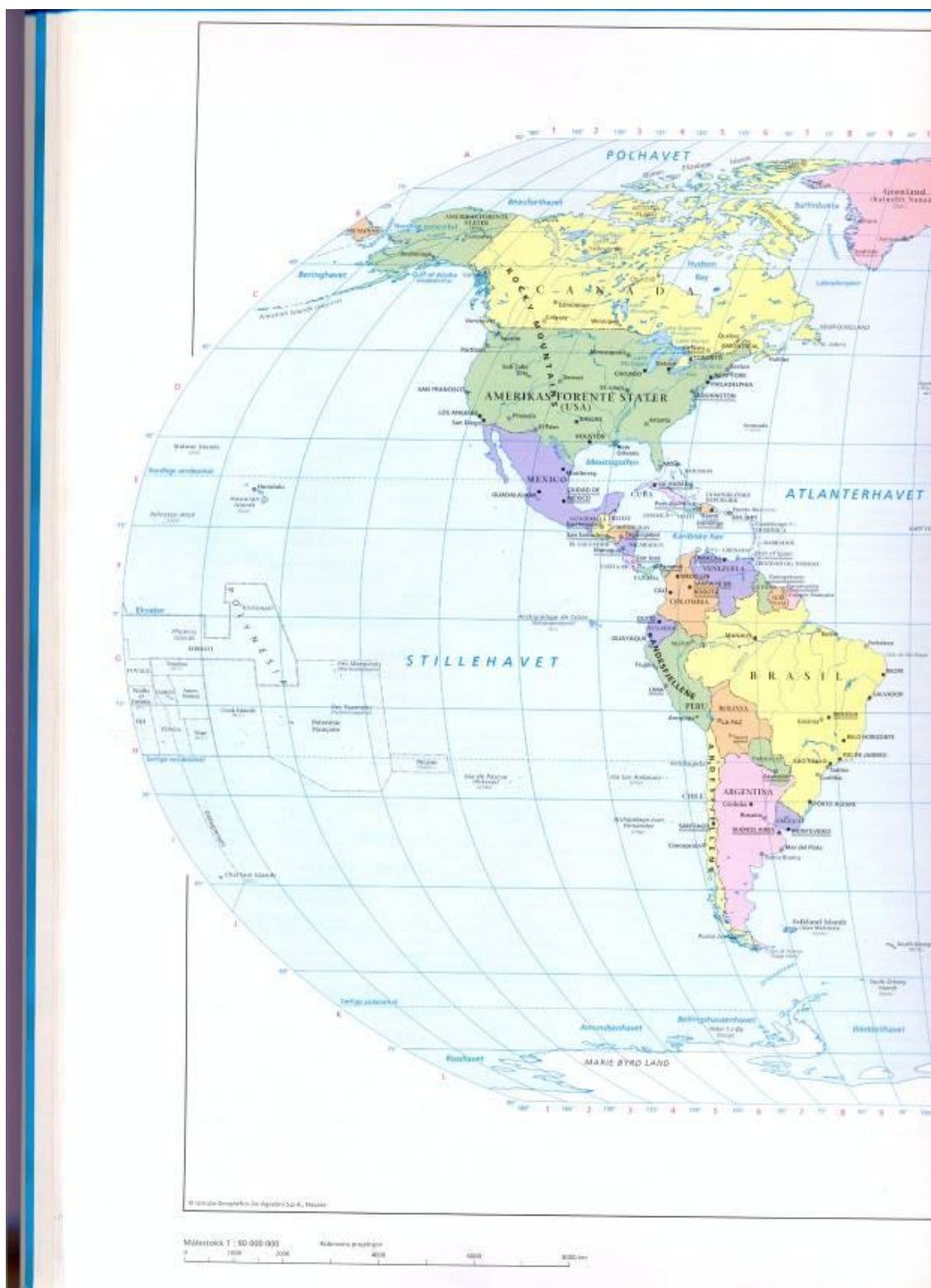


Appendix 9. Severnaya Amerika.



Source: Atlas Mira (Russian Atlas of the World), Moscow, BELLISI, Astrel', AST, 2008, p. 68-69.

Appendix 11. Verden: Politisk kart.



Source: "Familieatlas", Gyldendals Fakta, Oslo, 2001, p. 2.

This is a detailed political map of Asia and Oceania, presented in a circular projection. The map shows the following features:

- Continents and Major Landmasses:** Asia (Russia, China, India, etc.), Australia, and parts of Europe and Africa are visible.
- Major Bodies of Water:** Labeled in Danish: *POLHAVET* (Arctic Ocean), *STILLEHAVET* (Pacific Ocean), *INDISKE HAV* (Indian Ocean), *Østasiatisk Hav* (East Asian Sea), *Østafrikansk Hav* (East African Sea), *Østaustralisk Hav* (East Australian Sea), *Østafrikansk Hav* (East African Sea), *Østaustralisk Hav* (East Australian Sea).
- Major Countries and Regions:** RUSSLAND, KASAKHSTAN, KINA, INDIA, SUDAN, ETHIOPIA, AUSTRALIA, and various island nations like JAPAN, FILIPPINER, and INDONESIA.
- Major Cities:** Numerous cities are marked with dots and labeled, including Moscow, Beijing, Tokyo, New Delhi, Sydney, and Melbourne.
- Geographical Features:** The Himalayas, the Gobi Desert, and the Great Australian Bight are indicated.
- Grid:** A grid of latitude and longitude lines is overlaid on the map, with degree markings along the borders.
- Language:** All labels are in Danish.

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Appendix 13. Arktis.

4 ARKTIS



Source: "Familieatlas", Gyldendals Fakta, Oslo, 2001, p. 4.

Appendix 14. Europa: Politisk kart.



Source: "Familieatlas", Gyldendals Fakta, Oslo, 2001, p. 8.

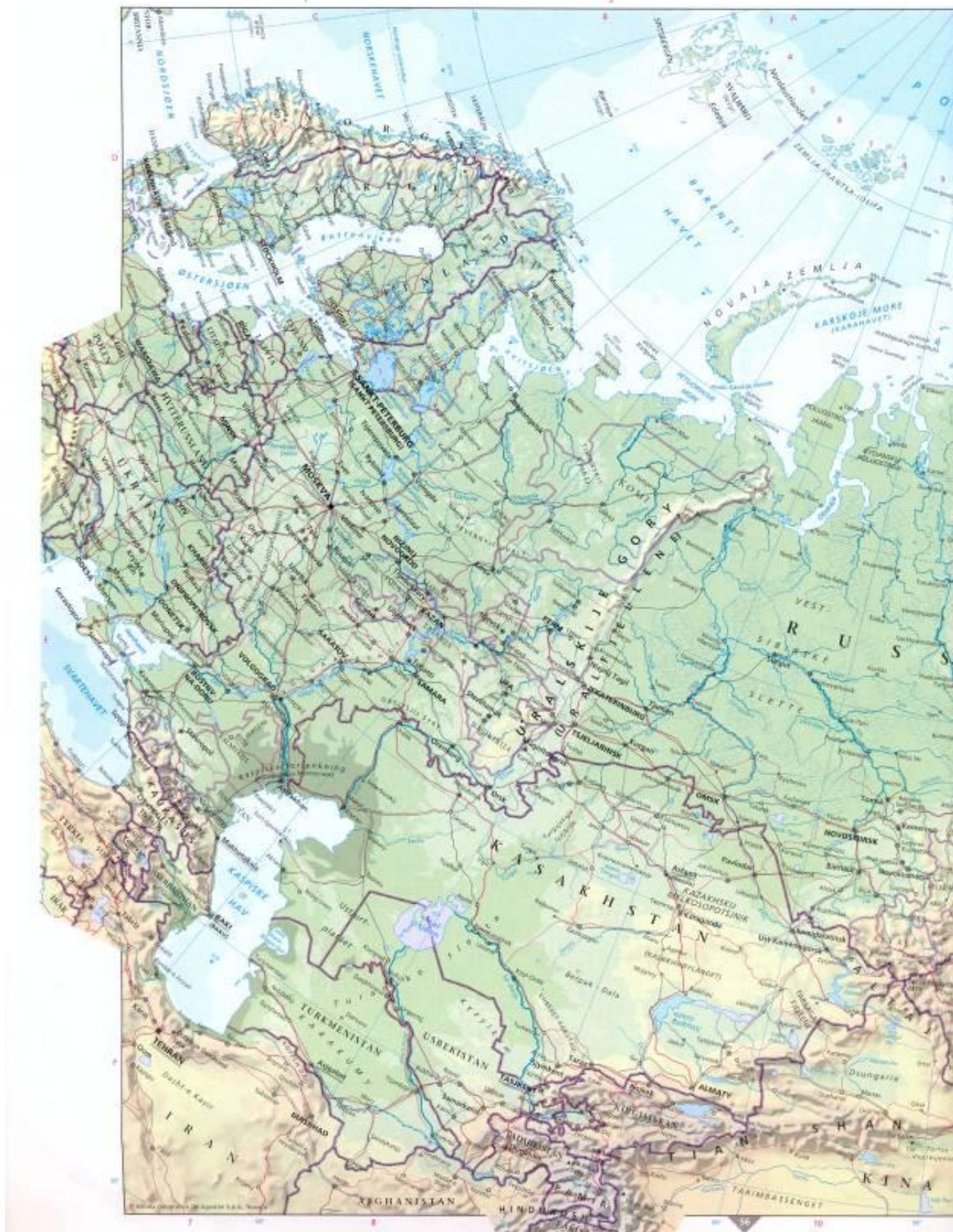
Appendix 15. Europa: Politisk kart.



Source: "Familieatlas", Gyldendals Fakta, Oslo, 2001, p. 9.

Appendix 16. Eurasia (Nordlige Del)

50 EURASIA (NORDLIGE DEL)



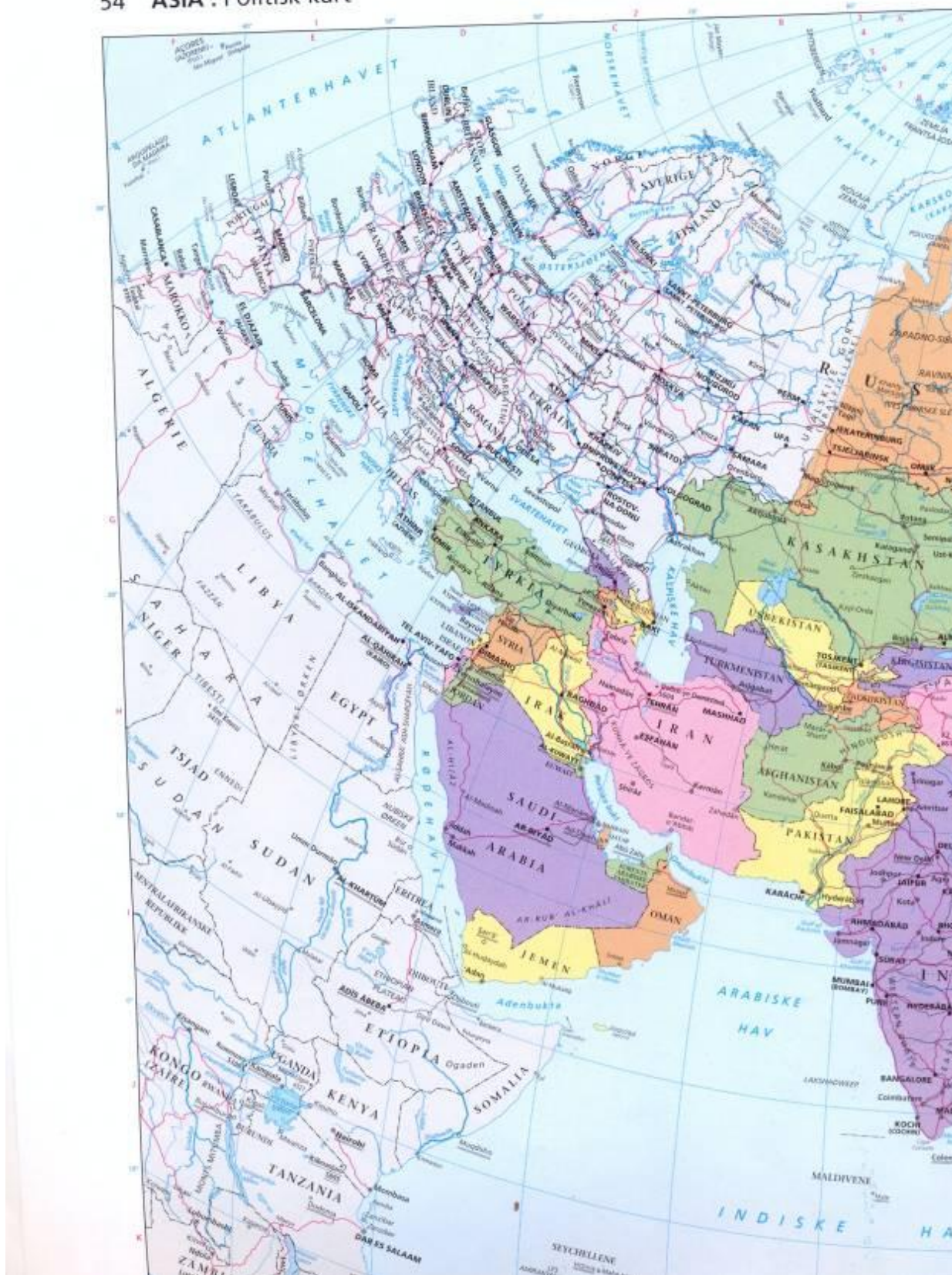
Source: "Familieatlas", Gyldendals Fakta, Oslo, 2001, p. 50.

Appendix 17. Asia: Fysisk kart.



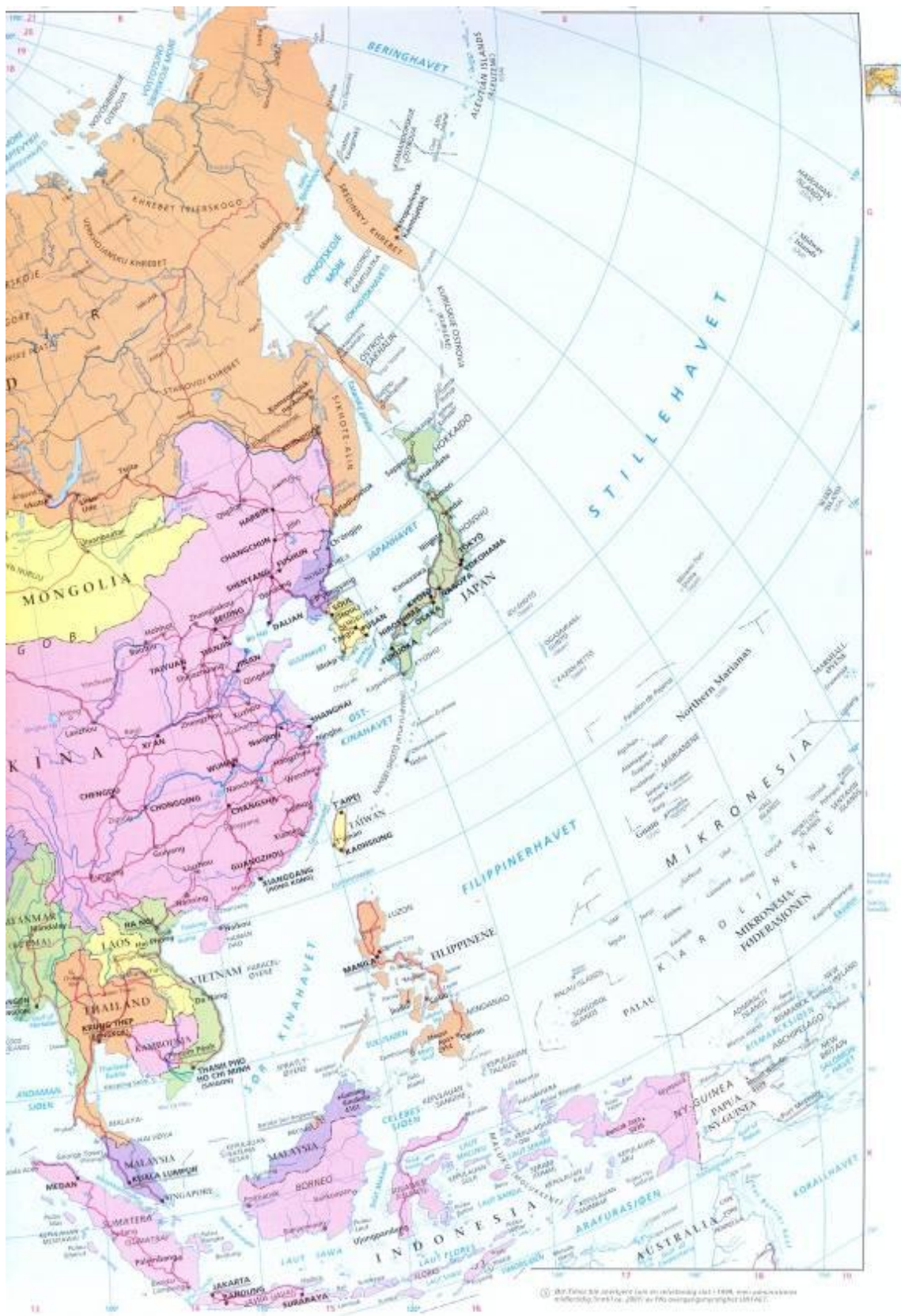
Source: "Familieatlas", Gyldendals Fakta, Oslo, 2001, p. 53.

54 ASIA : Politisk kart



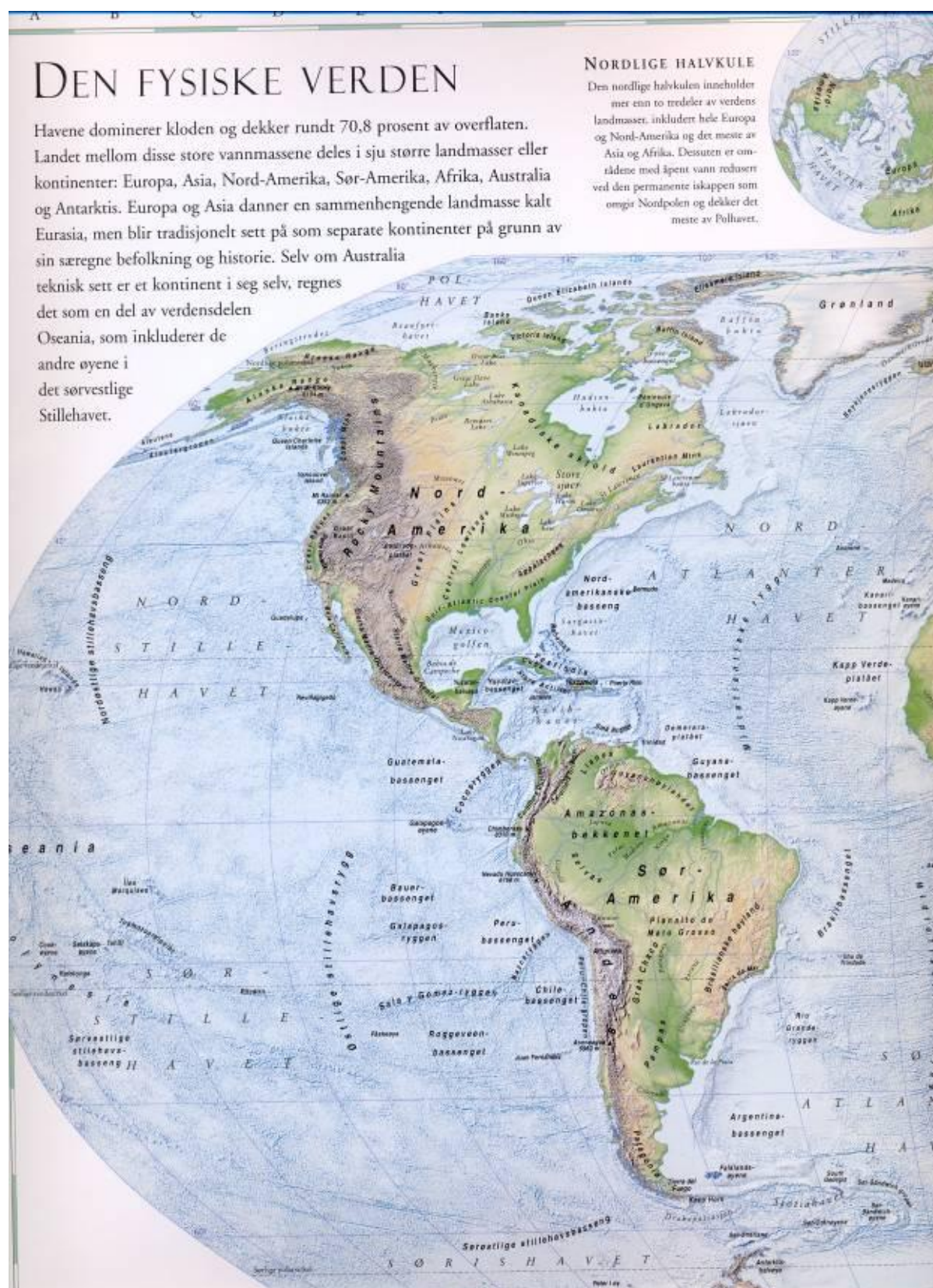
Source: "Familieatlas", Gyldendals Fakta, Oslo, 2001, p. 54.

Appendix 19. Asia: Politisk kart.



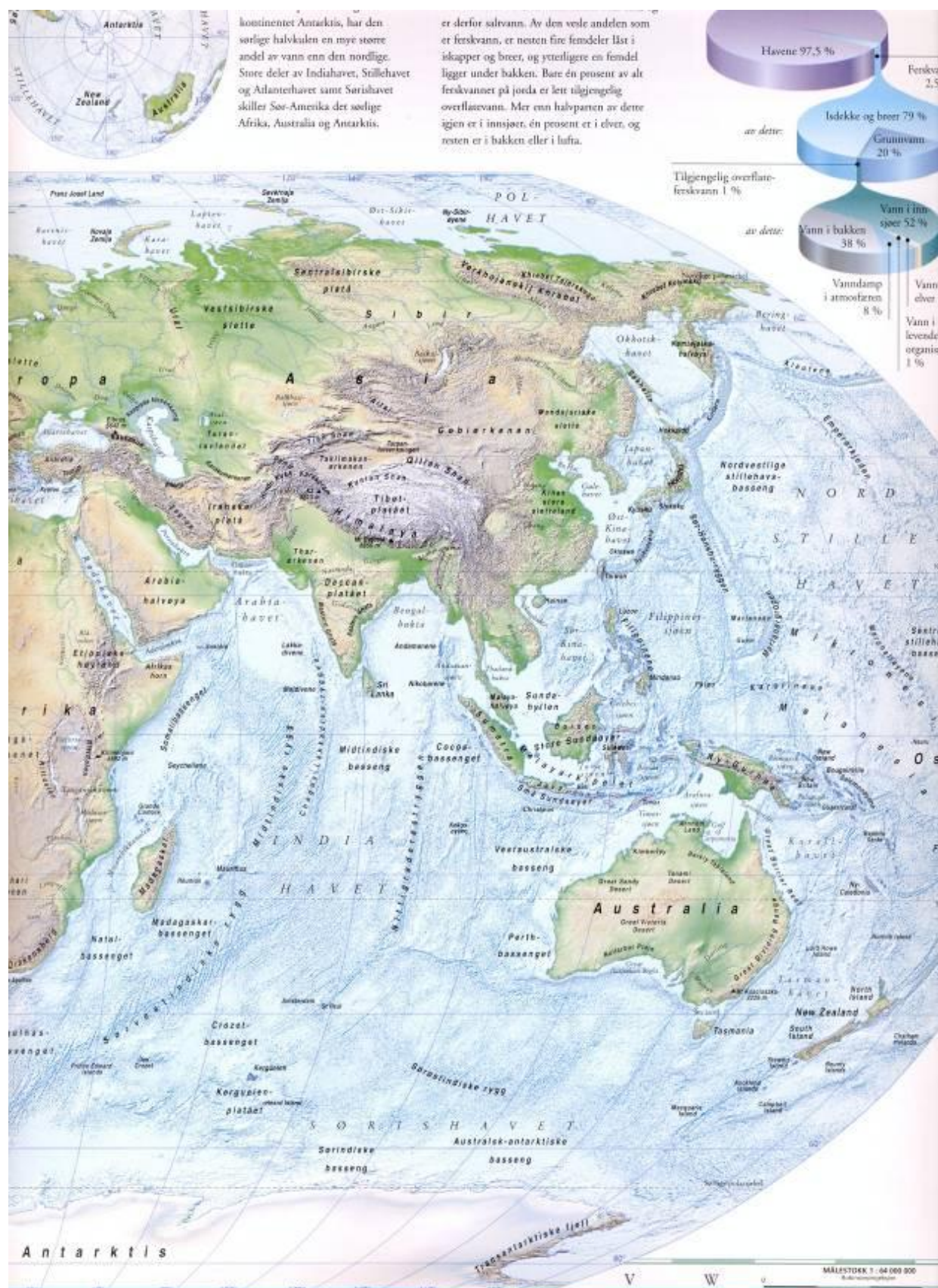
Source: "Familieatlas", Gyldendals Fakta, Oslo, 2001, p. 55.

Appendix 20. Den fysiske verden.



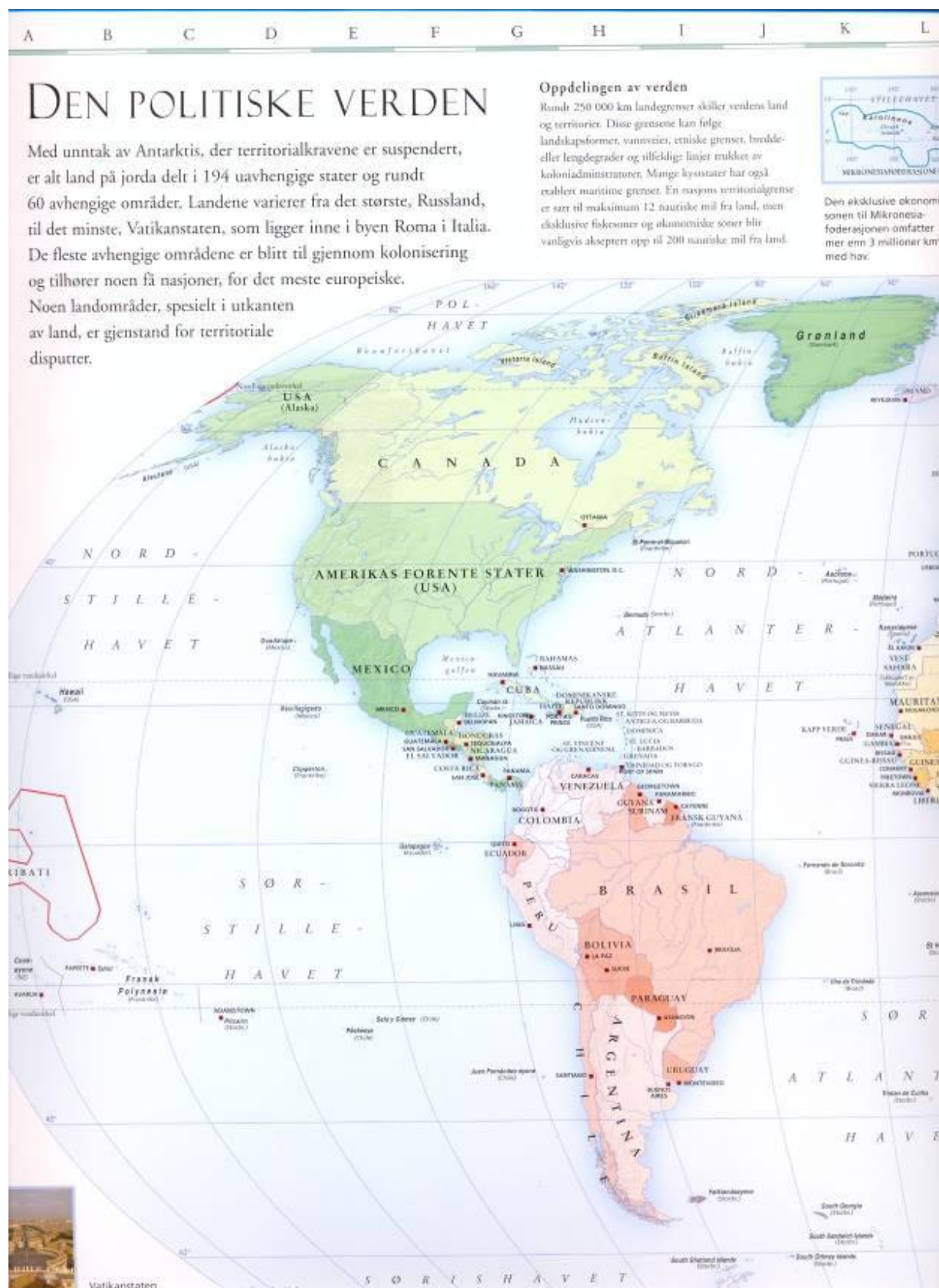
Source: "Verdens Atlas", Gyldendals Store, Oslo, 2008, p. 50.

Appendix 21. Den fysiske verden.



Source: "Verdens Atlas", Gyldendals Store, Oslo, 2008, p. 51.

Appendix 22. Den politiske verden.



Source: "Verdens Atlas", Gyldendals Store, Oslo, 2008, p. 52.

Appendix 23. Den politiske verden.



Source: "Verdens Atlas", Gyldendals Store, Oslo, 2008, p. 53.

Appendix 24. Polhavet.



Source: "Verdens Atlas", Gyldendals Store, Oslo, 2008, p. 65.

Appendix 25. Polhavet.

POLHAVET

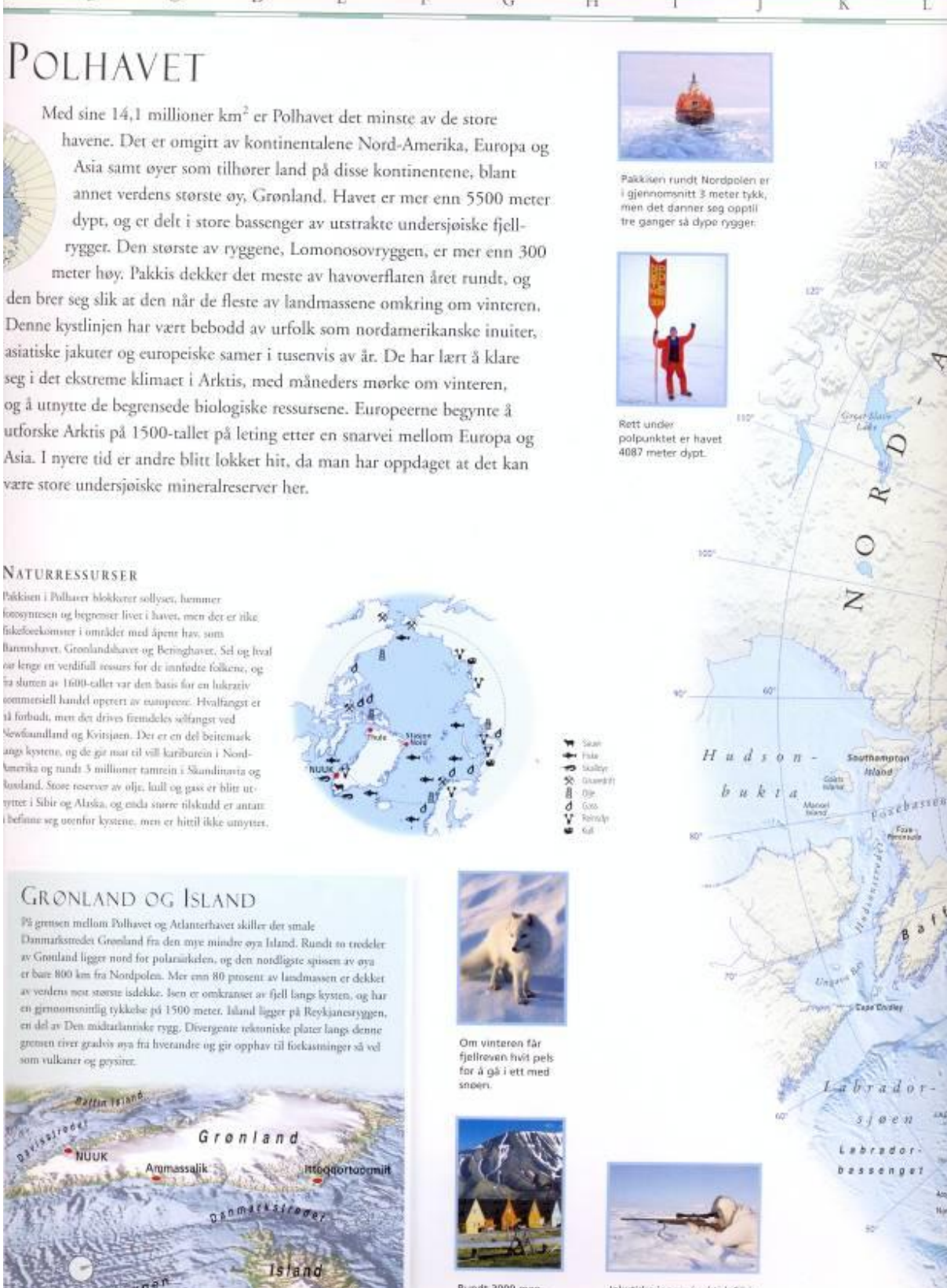
Med sine 14,1 millioner km² er Polhavet det minste av de store havene. Det er omgitt av kontinentene Nord-Amerika, Europa og Asia samt øyer som tilhører land på disse kontinentene, blant annet verdens største øy, Grønland. Havet er mer enn 5500 meter dypt, og er delt i store bassenger av utstrakte undersjøiske fjellrygger. Den største av ryggene, Lomonosovryggen, er mer enn 300 meter høy. Pakkisen dekker det meste av havoverflaten året rundt, og den brer seg slik at den når de fleste av landmassene omkring om vinteren. Denne kystlinjen har vært bebodd av urfolk som nordamerikanske inuitter, asiatiske jakuter og europeiske samer i tusenvis av år. De har lært å klare seg i det ekstreme klimaet i Arktis, med måneders mørke om vinteren, og å utnytte de begrensede biologiske ressursene. Europeerne begynte å utforske Arktis på 1500-tallet på leting etter en snarvei mellom Europa og Asia. I nyere tid er andre blitt lokket hit, da man har oppdaget at det kan være store undersjøiske mineralreserver her.

NATURRESSURSER

Pakkisen i Polhavet blokkerer sollyset, hemmer fotosyntesen og begrenser livet i havet, men det er ikke fiskefiskekomster i områder med åpent hav, som Barentshavet, Grønlandshavet og Beringhavet. Sel og levalnø er lenge en verdifull ressur for de innfødte folkene, og fra slutten av 1600-tallet var den basis for en lukrativ kommersiell handel operert av europeere. Hvalfangst er nå forbudt, men den drives fremdeles sølfangst ved Newfoundland og Kvitsjøen. Det er en del beitemark langs kysten, og de gir mat til vill karibuen i Nord-Amerika og rundt 5 millioner tamrein i Skandinavia og Russland. Store reserver av olje, kull og gass er blitt utnyttet i Sibir og Alaska, og enda større tilskudd er antatt å befinne seg utenfor kysten, men er hittil ikke utnyttet.

GRØNLAND OG ISLAND

På grensen mellom Polhavet og Atlanterhavet skiller det smale Danmarkstredet Grønland fra den mye mindre øya Island. Rundt to tredeler av Grønland ligger nord for polarkretsen, og den nordligste spissen av øya er bare 800 km fra Nordpolen. Mer enn 80 prosent av landmassen er dekket av verdens nest største isdekke. Øen er omkranset av fjell langs kysten, og har en gjennomsnittlig tykkelse på 1500 meter. Island ligger på Reykjanesryggen, en del av Den midatlantiske rygg. Divergente tektoniske plater langs denne grensen tvinger gradvis øya fra hverandre og gir opphav til fokkasninger så vel som vulkaner og geysirer.



Pakkisen rundt Nordpolen er i gjennomsnitt 3 meter tykk, men det danner seg opp til tre ganger så dype rygger.

Rett under polpunktet er havet 4087 meter dypt.

Legende:
 S: Sjøen
 F: Fjell
 S: Skaller
 D: Dyp
 G: Gass
 P: Pakkise
 K: Kull

Geografiske steder og regioner:
 Hudson-bukta, Southamton Island, Gotskalksøya, Marshalløya, Færøerne, Labrador-sjøen, Labrador-basseng, Ungava-bukta, East Coast, Grønland, Island, Danmarkstredet, Reykjanesryggen, NUUK, Armanassalik, Inoqortoqummit.

Illustrasjoner:
 - En person i rød jakke holder et flagg i snø.
 - En jakutisk jeger i arktisk Sibir.
 - En fjellrev i hvit pels.
 - Rundt 3000 mennesker.

Source: "Verdens Atlas", Gyldendals Store, Oslo, 2008, p. 64.

Appendix 26. Norden.



Source: "Verdens Atlas", Gyldendals Store, Oslo, 2008, p. 84.

Appendix 27. Norden.



Source: "Verdens Atlas", Gyldendals Store, Oslo, 2008, p. 85.

Appendix 28. Russland.

RUSSLAND

Russland, som strekker seg over 11 tidssoner og det meste av den østlige halvkule, er verdens største land. Uralfjellene, fra Karahavet til Kasakhstan, deler landet i en vestlig, europeisk del og en østlig, asiatisk del – Sibir. I den vestlige delen av Russland ligger landets største byer, store elver som renner gjennom slettelandskap og lave, kuperte åser. Øst for Ural strekker det seg et kjempestort, sumper slettelandskap fram til elva Jenisej, der landet hever seg til det store sibirske sentralplatået. Høye fjell ligger langs grensen mot Mongolia og langs kysten i øst. Et nesten ubrutt belte av boreal skog går gjennom hele landet og skiller tundraen helt i nord fra skogslandskap og stepper i sør. Etter en blodig revolusjon i 1917 ble Russland en kommunistisk stat med navnet Sovjetunionen, og etter oppløsningen i 1991 ble det etablert et Sambandet av sosialistiske sovjetrepublikker (Sovjetunionen). Etter kommunismens fall i 1991 ble de tidligere sovjetrepublikker seg selvstendige. Resten av unionen, med omtrent 75 prosent av landområdet, er føderasjonen Russland.

Vinterpalasset i St. Petersburg
er en av en rekke bygninger oppført på midten av 1700-tallet under Peter den store.

Lokale fiskere fanger mer enn 50 forskjellige fiskearter i Bajkalsjøen, verdens dypeste innsjø.

Øktjerne i det nordøstlige Sibir
bland lever hovedsakelig reinndrift, fiske og jakt på elg, sel og hvalross.

Moskva Den røde plass, punktet i Russlands historie, er fra seint på 1300-tallet og fikk sitt nåværende utseende på 1600-tallet. Der russiske tsarer og senere sovjetiske ledere har sittet. Den viktigste bygningen, Kremlen, Lenins grav og den gamle bygd mellom 1534 og 1812. Den ble bygd av Ivan 4. (den gruomme) for å vise sin makt over mongolene. Den ble ødelagt av Ivan 4. og senere ble den ombygget til en moderne bygning.

KAMTSJATKAHALVØYA

Den fjernliggende, kalde og øde halvøya Kamtsjatska har en utstrekning på 1200 km sørvestover fra den østlige delen av Russland og skiller Okhotskshavet fra Beringshavet. Det ugjestmilde landskapet karakteriseres av tundra, overvann med skog, få byer eller veier, varme kilder og mer enn 120 vulkaner med bratte sider, blant andre den 4750 m høye Kljutsjerskaja Sopka, Sibirs høyeste fjell. Så mange som 22 av vulkanene er fremdeles aktive.

Source: "Verdens Atlas", Gyldendals Store, Oslo, 2008, p. 156.

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